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EDGAR R. HARLAN, *Curator*

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ANNALS OF IOWA
CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1932

Miscellaneous

	Page
Some Methods of Collecting Indian Lore.....	403
BY EDGAR R. HARLAN	
Notes on the Salter-Shackford Correspondence.....	413
BY PHILIP D. JORDAN	
The Story of "The Des Moines River Lands".....	420
BY JAMES B. WEAVER	
The Aftermath of the Spirit Lake Massacre, March 8-15, 1857	434
BY FRANK I. HERRIOTT	
First Church and First School in Lowell.....	471
BY CHARLES R. JACKMAN	

Editorial Department

Notable Deaths	476
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Illustrations

Buffalo Head Dance.....	Frontispiece
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Buffalo Head Dance

(COPYRIGHT - L. E. WATTERS)

Ay — yay wee yay yah wee yay yah hah, Ay — yay wee yay
 yah wee yay yah hah, Yay — yay wee yay yah wee yay yah hah,
 wee yay hay, wee yay hay, hah yah, wee yay hay, wee yay hay, ah yay hah

The song of the Buffalo Head Dance is one of a number of Mesquakie Indian songs which have been sung by Jim Poweshiek and recorded by Lorrain E. Watters, musical director of Des Moines city schools. Mr. Watters writes the Indian words and syllables in a simple phonetic way which enables the average singer to reproduce the correct sounds with accuracy. Children of the Des Moines elementary schools, under his supervision, sing the song reproduced here, and others, with fine musical results. The music and motion as combined in Mesquakie use, have been used without alteration, by Professor Louis E. Hutto, as dances in his teaching of physical education.

ANNALS OF IOWA

VOL. XVIII, No. 6 DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1932 THIRD SERIES

SOME METHODS OF COLLECTING INDIAN LORE

BY EDGAR R. HARLAN

[Mr. Harlan was invited by the American Association for the Advancement of Science to speak at its meeting in Des Moines on December 28, 1929, and had present some of the Mesquakies in the following response.]

The topic that excuses my being here is "Some Methods of Collecting Indian Lore." I would like to have you interpret "Indian" as simply "Mesquakie"—one of the Algonquin families rather tardy in losing its identity as a prehistoric people. * * * * * There may be something that would be called cheap or theatrical in my way, but if there is, then it is cheap and theatrical for you to go to the home of any friend and there enter into conversation with him and he with you. There has been seventy years of experience in this state between the ancestors of these men and of myself, and between themselves and me. As there are only about three hundred ninety Mesquakies located in almost the geographic center of our state of nearly three million people, it has seemed to me worth while to become acquainted with them, and with the members of this tribe that are still with us and still retaining their traditions. I know no better way than to enjoy their companionship, especially as there is in their hospitality nothing that requires you to do anything that you do not want to do. Theirs is a hospitality and friendship of the pioneers of our own race. And what rule of evidence is not complied with in gathering facts through interpretation by one born to the tongue and tradition of the culture foreign to ours?

I want to introduce you first to George Young Bear, a graduate of Haskell Institute, who is the interpreter for his people. There is no reason why he might not live and work among us. His feeling toward his own people is such that,

rather than go out, for instance, and earn six or seven dollars daily at the Ford plant, he is more content to remain among his people.

Young Bear is the son of Pushetonequa, last of the chiefs of the Mesquakie tribe and is sixty-two years old.

And Jim Poweshiek, who is the father of this young man Jonas.

Young Bear is about my age (60). I do not know of any one with a clearer mind. He understands our words rather well, but not well enough to be certain that he can express himself. For instance, we fool him by saying that a house burns, or burns up or burns down. He knows what it means, but is timid in selecting among our words. It is just as clear as can be that in dealing with our Mesquakie friends they are so careful as to seem reticent. But their prudence is, after all, just common sense. Poweshiek and Young Bear are related, and are of the Bear clan.

The Indian work of our Historical, Memorial and Art Department is not yet headed by an expert, like Mr. Stiles of the Archives, or Professor Steppan of the Museum. Miss Rhode does the part of the work that I am unable to do. Jonas is one of our housekeeping force, but affords us Mesquakie contact not otherwise possible.

In this season it is a satisfaction to go out trapping with one of the older Indians. Then I am forced to use my vocabulary of some twenty of their words. The Indian uses his vocabulary of perhaps a hundred English words. By the time a week is gone I have hints of things the Indian wants to know, or I have gained something from him that I wanted to know. * * * * * Yet there can have been uncertainty or incompleteness. Within the last few years there have been in these trapping trips I suppose as many as a hundred things that would make a good story. I have these in memorandum form, not now to be published or used, for the reason that I am not quite certain whether memoranda made by me is too defective a conversation to be worth your reading. Though possibly a good news story, it has not the fact content you, as scientists, would care to use. * * * * * As I make myself individually responsible for the record that shall be left in the Historical Department, I adhere to the following precepts:

RULES

1. We consort only with Mesquakies of age who are respected highly among Mesquakies of all ages and shades of interest.
2. We avail ourselves of "talks" only with Mesquakies who exchange freely with us at table and our respective homes.
3. We notice only such themes as are voluntarily opened up by the Mesquakies themselves.
4. We record only those talks in which two or more Mesquakies participate as speakers or auditors.
5. We use no interpreter that is not designated by the speakers.
6. We take stenographic notes only when desired by speakers, and these, extended, are by the interpreter read back to the speaker to be corrected or suppressed.
7. Our collection of such talks will not be published while there remains a flow from these sources.

I think there are not over twenty Mesquakies who are sixty years old. Whether there is a material difference in the lore of different clans I do not know.

When manuscripts come back corrected they are filed, and may remain there a long while before being used. I only hope that this state will have on record such facts of the North American Indian as shall not mislead or falsify.

Let us now try to make such a record. I never know what I will get when I start into an interview. If I get nothing, then you will get nothing. You cannot stage an interview with these folks. I doubt if you can with any other of the North American Indians. I assume we have established in their minds that we are sincere, and so I want simply to enter into a conversation with these men that has never before been entered into. There has been no opportunity.

I will ask George to ask his father if he could tell me something that he has said that he would tell me, but which he thinks would take about two hours. Let us go as far as we can. My present information is that Young Bear's mother was in the Black Hawk War, and I am at a place where I want to verify that.

George interprets Mr. Harlan's question to Young Bear. Young Bear replies, and

George interprets: First of all, he wants to show himself that

he is a member of one of the old races that you found living on this continent when your people came into this country—they were wearing these feathers—these ornaments. During the Black Hawk War my own grandmother and mother were living at that time, and they went through the Black Hawk War together. And from that time, when I was a young man, my mother would often relate her experience during those days. And since then those that can read have had the story of the Black Hawk War as written by your people, and many of these facts I dare say are untrue, because my mother has told me a different story.

We do not know what to think or what to believe. Your honorable men who wrote the facts about the war were indeed respectable and thought they stuck to the truth, but we think they are a little bit partial to their own side. They did not get into our side of the story. Therefore, some of the facts were exaggerated and some of them were untrue. In those times your people who were living among our people were different. They had a different attitude toward our people. During the recent years in my going about among your people I have noticed a remarkable change—a remarkable change in attitude toward us.

Black Hawk, one of our most noble men, who was respected by the entire tribe, stuck to the truth and stood by his rights. He told, time and again, to the white people that the lands in Illinois belonged to his tribe. They [the delegation] were sent away without authority from the tribe, but the white people insisted that it had authority from the tribe. They stuck to that and eventually there was a misunderstanding. Black Hawk was right. Our people did not sign away those lands. If you, each one of you, would take the trouble of going into the history more thoroughly from both sides, you will see that Black Hawk was right.

And, my good friends, to this day the Sac and Fox still believe that the lands in the Illinois belong to them. It is their land by right. I cannot say whether your people will ever believe that, but we still do, and for a long time in the future the Sac and Fox will believe the same. If you understand us, if you will listen carefully and try to think these things through,

you will come to a decision that Black Hawk—that our people were right.

My good friend Mr. Harlan has been so kind to me, and understanding, and so I took the liberty of telling him what I have. I promise him that some day I will tell him the whole story—which will take a long time. In the meantime, good friends, I want you to understand that we ask nothing but an understanding—your friendship—your good will toward us. We [Young Bear and Jim Poweshiek] are not descendants of Chief Black Hawk, for he was a Sauk, and we are Fox. We are direct descendants of Chief Poweshiek.

And, my friends, I am very glad to give you this little talk—and may this be the beginning of our sincere friendship—may we know each other. I know through the words, through the friendship of Mr. Harlan, that he has brought us before your people, and we find that we have won more friends. May the Great Spirit bless us all!

Mr. Harlan: [To the audience] I have the promise, as you have, that some day we will have that story. But METHOD is what you have assigned to me, and this is the way I have proceeded, in our long years of acquaintance.

[To Young Bear] Until the moment of this meeting I did not know whether we could have the story and have Jim play his flute. Those of us who still have respect for Longfellow's poetry will remember that Hiawatha set eight or ten nations on their toes. It was gathered largely from Schoolcraft, himself defective in just the degree of any interpreter not acquainted with both Indian and English cultures. George Young Bear uses the English language, as you see, with facility the equal of the average white man, having also his own language and all that lies back of that language, can give us more completely and perfectly what his father or Poweshiek says than could possibly be true of an English interpreter. * * * * * If Schoolcraft through Longfellow gave us what our generation received, then what Schoolcraft never had, and what Longfellow never sang, is what still remains in the soul of the Indian. So it seems to me interesting to have Jim here with his flute. I want to ask him to play one of his melodies. I would rather have one that can be sung as well as played on the flute.

George interprets Mr. Harlan's question to Jim, and Jim both plays and sings the Moccasin Track song.

Mr. Harlan: And such as this is simply the indication of all it may imply. If that was a song, it either says words or has implications, as if when some one on the street whistles Yankee Doodle I would unconsciously fall in step.

A year or so ago we had an Indian Life School, in which we had some twenty or thirty teachers from the Des Moines schools. We took advantage of the occasion to inquire how these flutes were made. (Reads construction of flute from record.)

Mr. Harlan: Now will you sing that song?

Jim sings.

Mr. Harlan: And will you tell us what it says?

Jim tells the story of the song, and George interprets: This is one of our tribal love songs. It was taught to me by the old people when I was still a small boy learning to play the flute. In those days the Indian youths, in the spring of the year, would wander out into the forest, into the hills, and carry the flutes with them, and there play these melodies while alone, and there, when their sweethearts heard them play, would go to them. This song represents that at one time an Indian scout, a young man who was very much in love with a maiden, was called upon by their chief to go out and do the scout duty. The scout duty is very uncertain. When they are called upon to go out they go out for many moons. They never know whether they will ever come back into the village of their people. Therefore, when this Indian scout was called upon, with a heavy heart he had to go out to do his duty, because he had to leave his sweetheart. Nevertheless, it was his duty to go out as a scout, and so when his time came there was a sad parting. He went forth with a heavy step, and there, out in the wilderness, perhaps among the hostile tribes, among the wild beasts, he was out in constant danger, always thinking of the sweetheart he had left in the village. Eventually the relief [substitute scout] came—a scout came to him—and he traveled as fast as he could back to the village. And on his way, being so exhausted by his travel, he came upon a sparkling stream, and there he knelt down in the sand to refresh himself, and there in the sand he saw a moccasin track. Naturally he thought of her. And so the song is called the Moccasin Track song.

Mr. Harlan: You are familiar, George, with our literature to some extent. Do you know whether this song or story is in any of our so-called Indian lore?

George: So far as I know, the story has never been recorded.

Mr. Harlan: You are aware of others than that that are not in our books?

George: There are several of them that have been told to me by these men, and I am aware that they are not in the record.

Mr. Harlan: That is as far as I care to go. I wish to explain to your father that Mrs. Card has been making a stenographic record of this talk, and that it will be extended and returned to you. I have been able through you and with your help to get the story. We will be able to decide, with the help of the audience, whether our method is a correct method. If it is incorrect, this record will show what the defects are.

As illustrating the utility of this method we present herewith a Mesquakie melody in the script of Lorraine E. Watters (see frontispiece). The song as sung by Jim Poweshiek is transcribed by Prof. Watters, but differs from the Moccasin Track Song in that the voice, by a series of syllables, merely replaces the flute. The syllables, vocalized, supply the rhythm and melody as in the Moccasin Song, but do not attempt to narrate the Indian thought. Prof. Watters thus illustrates Indian emotion as nearly as emotion has been translated and rendered out of antiquity from the Italian and other cultures through the violin.

Poweshiek and Prof. Watters join in an explanation of this Buffalo Head score. Their collaboration in recording different Mesquakie songs has resulted in their use in Des Moines schools. In association with Mr. Louis E. Hutto, supervisor of physical education, they have used these songs in teaching pupils the Mesquakie dances. This is the most complete importation into public educational use of aboriginal culture of which I am aware. It admits of no fraud, pretense, nor misapprehension in the process from Mesquakie utterance to the faculties of third grade English pupils in their course of study of Indian life.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Irving Richman: There is being issued, as this company undoubtedly knows, a book on a large scale called the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and edited by Allen Johnson, three

volumes of which have appeared. It is the object of that extensive work to include the lives of all Americans of distinction, Indians especially, and it has fallen to my lot to write the account of Black Hawk for that biography, and I wish, George, you would say to your father that I have written that life, basing a good many things upon investigation of Mr. Harlan, and in that I found myself, with great satisfaction, able to say that the story as to Black Hawk, his relations with the whites, is substantially true, in spite of what white men themselves have said or written about him. And I would like to have that message conveyed to your father.

George interprets Dr. Richman's remarks to his father.

Mr. Harlan: [To the audience] These people have so few contacts with people of intelligence, that anything, if you have the time to give, will help them.

Dr. O. B. Clark: Mr. Harlan, will you tell us to what extent, if any, these older men have attempted to learn the English language?

Mr. Harlan: George, will you respond?

George interprets to Young Bear, and Young Bear answers.

George interprets: The question is pretty hard to answer, as it varies, of course, in individuals. Some are masters of the English language, and some want to receive this higher education, and are still not master of the English language. But these older people, who never had the advantage, will have to learn the meaning through their own interpreters, and through their own neighbors—white neighbors. They are able only to learn the names of the articles that are necessary in their daily lives; and then, of course, other common words that they use every day, such as salutations, etc.

Mr. Harlan: With your approval, George, I will add to the answer to Doctor Clark from an experience I had with your father. When you were not at home, and I wanted to talk with him and his other sons who speak English were not there, I suggested that we get Bill Leaf or Harry Lincoln, and he sometimes smiles and says "That is all right to me." These two men never went to school, but they talk English as glibly as you or I. One day I tried to get at why these young men were avoided as interpreters, and Young Bear suggested that the easier an Indian talked English the faster he lied in both languages. I

believe the only way is to have the interpreter the speaker wants. I don't believe it is fair to get information any other way. * * * * *

Dr. P. E. Cox, of Nashville, Tennessee: I want to ask George if he will tell us whether or not his people have some rule or method by which they undertake to preserve the history of their ancestors.

George interprets to Young Bear, who answers.

George interprets: In everything that we do, everything which we believe is celebrated—we have ceremonies for these things. We do that—in our ceremonies and religion—and when it comes to preserving records, it goes verbally to the respective families and to the most of the men—elder men of the tribe, or leaders of each clan—and these men are told the events of the tribe—the most important events. As long as they live they keep these in their minds—not written, not recorded—not preserved only in their minds. But at some future time they pass this on to the next leader of their respective clans. And so it goes on from generation to generation. The next generation—I am very much afraid that this custom will be lost. The men that are before you at this time [himself and Jim Poweshiek]—there are only two that have been given this information. The younger men—we do not know what they will do if we give them this information—whether they will put this in written form. Undoubtedly they will—or they may not. If not, then they will be lost.

Young Bear speaks.

George interprets: It is very fine indeed when the white people take to recording events—the things that they see. And it is interesting that some of these friends of ours are taking the trouble of trying to get the information from our people so that it may be preserved. As I have observed our young people, they read—they have books in their homes, and they read of facts as they find them in the books, and through my talk with Mr. Harlan I find what a task our younger people have. It is indeed very hard to learn even one word of the English language. I have attempted to learn the English language. I go out and live among the white people, eat with them and live in the same house with them, and go on trails with them day after day, and still I am unable to speak the

English language. I presume it is the same way with any other language—for I know I have tried to teach Mr. Harlan our own language, and have never succeeded.

Mr. Harlan: Further answering Doctor Cox's suggestion that they preserve these things. By old people telling what they have learned, and the younger people getting what they can, there would be satisfactory preservation if the culture were to continue pure. But having their instructions mixed up with ours, then if their history would continue, it increases uncertainly forever. As it is now, I think the best way is my method. When President Harding died these Indians were guests of the city of Ottumwa. The city was holding a memorial to the late president. The Indians were to have a memorial of their own [incidentally, it would have been called by white people a great dance], but the people of Ottumwa asked the Mesquakies to participate with them. Within less than thirty minutes after I asked Young Bear he talked to these ten or fifteen thousand people, and his talk, after being interpreted by George and I relayed it to the crowd, was just as well received as Senator Frailey's magnificent oration. I asked Young Bear to write it in his script. He wrote a page about 3 x 5 inches long. Then I asked George to write his interpretation. I set both up and published it in the *ANNALS OF IOWA* for April, 1924, Vol. XIV, pages 297-300.

STATE CAPITOL LOCATED

We learn that the commissioners appointed by Gov. Grimes located the capitol on Tuesday, the 22nd inst., agreeably to instructions, at Fort Des Moines. The precise site is on the east bank of the Des Moines River, opposite the main part of the town. Some disaffection exists at the Fort because it was not located in the fork of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers, where the town is situated.—*Muscatine Journal*, April 29, 1856. (In the Newspaper Division of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.)

NOTES ON THE SALTER-SHACKFORD CORRESPONDENCE

By PHILIP D. JORDAN

Dr. William Salter,¹ together with those other members of the Andover Band who were to impress so strongly Congregational theology and education upon Iowa, first arrived in Burlington on the morning of October 24, 1843,² was received at the landing by James G. Edwards,³ founder of an unsuccessful string of Whig newspapers from Jacksonville, Illinois, to Burlington, where he established the *Iowa Patriot* on June 6, 1839,⁴ found himself confronted by a rival newspaper, the *Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, established in the year 1837 by James Clarke,⁵ and then earnestly devoted himself to temperance, the Whig party, and Congregationalism. Mr. Edwards, a deacon in the small Burlington church,⁶ put his hospitable home at the disposal of the young men only recently from the theological seminaries of the East and just commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to preach the Gospel in the Territory of Iowa.⁷

On Sunday, November 5, 1843, young Salter "received ordination at Denmark",⁸ and soon after went up the Mississippi River, prepared to begin his ecclesiastical duties in Jackson County, near the junction of the South and North Forks of the Maquoketa River, and in the vicinity of the villages of Maquoketa and Andrew.⁹ After working here for a little more

¹See the indexes of the ANNALS OF IOWA, issued under dates of 1912 and 1931, for citations to William Salter, the Andover Band, Denmark Association, and Horace Hutchinson.

²*Forty Years' Ministry/ A Sermon/ Preached in/ The Congregational Church/ Burlington, Iowa / April 4, 1886/ By William Salter/ Published by the Church and Society./ Burlington, Iowa:/ James Love, 316 Jefferson street./ pp. 10-11. n.d.*

³See "Life and Works of James Gardiner Edwards". *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, October, 1930, and "Portrait of a Pioneer Printer" in same journal, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, April, 1930. Also: Salter: *Mrs. Eleanor T. Broadwell, 1804-1886*. Published by the Church. Love's Book Store, Burlington, 1887. Compare Salter: *A Sermon With Reference to the Death of J. Gardiner Edwards*. Preached August 10, 1851, in the Congregational Church, Burlington, Iowa. Printed at the Hawk-Eye Office. 1851.

⁴ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. XVI, No. 3, January, 1928, pp. 175-176.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Forty Years' Ministry*, pp. 10-11. *et A Sermon/ Preached in the/ Congregational Church/ of/ Burlington, Iowa/ in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary/ of Its Original Formation/ By William Salter/ Minister of the Church and Society./ n.d. pp. 8-9.*

⁷See the language of any of the commissions issued by the American Home Missionary Society, New York. The commission referred to here bears the date: November 1, 1844.

⁸ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. VII, p. 592.

⁹*Ibid.*

than two years, Dr. Salter wrote as follows: "I received an urgent request 'to come to Burlington, and see its condition, and ascertain if I could not be more widely useful here than anywhere else in Iowa' ".¹⁰

These words, continued Dr. Salter, composed the "language of a letter, dated January 3, 1846, addressed to me by Deacon Shackford."¹¹

Dr. Salter did come to Burlington in February, preached three Sabbaths, and was then invited by the Church and Society to become their minister. His parish duties began the second Sunday in April, 1846, and continued until his death August 15, 1910.

Until this time, there has been only the testimony of Dr. Salter (quoted above) which has related to the series of occurrences finally to culminate in his removal from Maquoketa to Burlington. Now, however, we have the correspondence which passed between Albert S. Shackford and William Salter. This correspondence consists only of three letters written by Shackford himself (with a note affixed by Horace Hutchinson to the communication written under date of January 25, 1844), and Dr. Salter's acceptance of the call from the Burlington Church, written under date of March 25, 1846. I am printing this entire correspondence, so that it may not again be lost, and so that this additional biographical material may be readily accessible to the researcher and historiographer. The complete correspondence (with the exception of Dr. Salter's letter of acceptance) is holographic.

Albert S. Shackford was not a stranger to William Salter when this correspondence between them began on January 25, 1844; nor did this acquaintanceship have its inception in the Territory of Iowa. The friendship had begun when Salter, as a young boy, was visiting at his grandmother's home at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.¹² Shackford had left his New England home sometime in the early '40's and had set up a flouring mill in Burlington.¹³ He had been accompanied to the far West by

¹⁰*Forty Years' Ministry*, in the place cited.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Salter: *Address to the Sunday School Children on the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Pastorate*, April 12th, A.D. 1896. Burlington, Iowa. n. d.

¹³See *History of Des Moines County, Iowa*, Western Historical Society, Chicago, 1879, p. 504: "On the 27th of April, 1845, Shackford & Co's. flouring mill was burned." Salter named Shackford as a merchant. Compare *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, August 29, 1909.)

his brother, Rev. C. C. Shackford, at whose ordination Theodore Parker preached his famous sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity."¹⁴ It is this brother whom Shackford mentions in his letter under date of January 3, 1846, here printed. When the Congregational Church was organized at Burlington, December 28, 1843, it is recorded that Albert S. Shackford acted as secretary,¹⁵ and when the Sixth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa incorporated and approved the Church, February 12, 1844, Shackford is mentioned in the articles of incorporation.¹⁶ And when the constitution of the Church was adopted on December 28, 1843, Shackford's name is among those who affixed their signatures.¹⁷ When the Denmark Association of Congregational Churches convened in 1843, Shackford was named the Burlington delegate,¹⁸ and in that same year, he was named superintendent of the Sabbath school.¹⁹ Dr. Salter, in one instance, made a record of a journey which he and Deacon Shackford took to an associational meeting at Farmington, Iowa, in 1846. Dr. Salter writes: "The spring of forty years ago in this immediate vicinity was also marked by the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo. . . . We saw their camp fires on the edge of the woods along the streams, and met their long wagon-trains."²⁰ As superintendent of the Sabbath school, Deacon Shackford introduced into the opening exercises the responsive reading of the Scriptures.²¹

The friendship between Salter and Shackford was not to continue for long. Shackford, while returning to Portsmouth for a visit, took ill at Auburn, New York, and died there August 17, 1846, just about four months after Dr. Salter had taken up his duties in Burlington.²² Dr. Salter has written of Deacon Shackford as one who "carried into every department of Christian activity, the sweet and gentle courtesy and kindness and quick intelligence that were his uniform characteristics,"²³ and said

¹⁴*Burlington Hawk-Eye*, August 29, 1909.

¹⁵Antrobus, A.M. *History of Des Moines County*. S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1915, Vol. I, p. 556.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 557.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 472-473.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 562.

²⁰*Forty Years' Ministry*, pp. 7-8.

²¹Salter's *Sermon* preached November 25, 1888, pp. 8-9. (Fully cited in footnote 6.)

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

further, "Few young laymen acquire such maturity and consistency of character as Mr. Shackford possessed."²⁴

This, then, in as much detail as is available, indicates the Salter-Shackford relationship. The correspondence follows:

Rev. William Salter
Springfield
Jackson County
Iowa Territory
Dear sir:

Burlington. January 25, 1844

Your favor reached me a few days since, and it gives me pleasure to inform you that the miniature with the accompanying letter, has been obtained from Mr. Thompson, who reached this place only a day or two since, and is now in the hands of Mr. Bradley who will no doubt forward it to you by the stage which leaves this place tomorrow morning, and I trust it will safely reach you.

I am sorry I cannot give you the pleasing intelligence of a revival in our little church. The ministrations of the Holy Spirit seem to be withheld from us, and yet we are not without some tokens of the Divine favor. The number of our members has nearly doubled within the last three months, tho' among the increase, there are no new converts. Our congregations on the Sabbath are full and attentive, and the preaching of our friend Mr. Hutchinson seems to give general satisfaction. I hope good things are in store for us, and I have strong hopes too, we shall be able the coming summer, to finish the house, we have commenced for the worship of the Lord. This is imperiously needed: May Him for whose service it is designed, bless the efforts of his servants. My prayer is for your success in the field of your labors, and for your christian comfort and enjoyment. I should be glad to hear from you, whenever you have leisure from more important labors. Your friends here would unite with me in assurances of affection and regard and wishes for your welfare, did they know of my writing. Accept those of your friend.

Albert S. Shackford

[Here Rev. Hutchinson takes up the letter.]

Brother Salter:

Shackford has given me the rest of the sheet, and I wish I had time to fill it up with news, just such as you most [want] to hear, but our Thursday eve meeting comes on soon—and besides I don't know *what* to write—i.e. what you most wish to hear. I am egotistical enough to suppose you will like to hear that I am well, except a cold, and hard at work. Indeed, after three month's experience, *I* can testify that Burlington *is* a hard place—not in just the sense that your's is; but in the worst sense of the word—morally, spiritually.

I am sometimes much disheartened, but toil on, in hope, and feel that all its trials our work is a glorious one.

²⁴*Ibid.*

E. Adams was here last Friday, seemed sad, said my situation was so different from his ! Indeed I do feel humbled at the difference as he describes it, and do try to *pray* for him and all our members. Wish you would write me, have heard from all the company except yourself—were all well—if I had time would give you a synopsis of their letters but must defer this till I get your letter.

I think of you and Turner often, in your missionary work. I mourn that I can give you no news of *conversions* here. Three months of my ministry gone and not one soul saved ! O, this ought not to continue. May the Great Head of the church be with you, my brother, and give you many souls in your ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Hutch

Rev. William Salter,
Andrew,
Jackson County,
Iowa

Burlington. January 3rd., 1846

Rev. and dear sir:

It is with deep regret that I have to tell you of the serious illness, of your brother in the ministry, the Rev. H. Hutchinson, to whom this field was assigned as the place of his missionary labors. Deprived of his services through the whole summer, we had hoped that with cold weather his health and strength would return, and enable him to do much in this place in the service of his Master during this winter. But the Lord has otherwise ordained. For the last three Sabbaths we have been without preaching, and Mr. H. has signified his wish not to be considered any longer as our minister, nor can we indulge the hope that he will ever preach again.

You know the importance of this place as a center of religious influence; you know something of its rapid growth and heretofore neglected condition; and you realize something of the need there is of a faithful evangelical ministry exhorting its power constantly over this God-forgetting population. The ways of Zion do truly mourn here; error is coming in like a flood, and truth is trodden into the dust, whilst there is no Watchman on its walls able to sound the trumpet loud enough to reach the closed ears of the perishing multitude.

A new establishment has been underway for some months denominated the "Moral and Spiritual Reform Society"—though passing current under the names of the "India Rubber Church" and "Free and Easy Church". To this Society my brother preaches or lectures—and it is made up of Unitarians, Universalists, Deists, Swedonborgians etc. It is now the popular church. Its lecturer is popular and their place of meeting the most comfortable and convenient in town. The class of men which it is most desirable to reach with the preaching of the pure Gospel, are the leading men among these Spirituals. In the meanwhile, our own place of worship is closed, our congregation scattered, and our little church discouraged. Orthodoxy is a reproach, and we

know not which way to look for a ray of hope amidst the moral darkness of this community.

Those of our number who are acquainted with yourself, look to you as perhaps the human instrumentality through which better times may dawn upon the spiritual prospect of Burlington, and at their request I have addressed these lines to you, to press upon your attention the question, whether your master's cause does not require you, if it be consistent with your engagements at home, to come to Burlington, and see its condition and ascertain if here you could not be more widely useful than anywhere else in Iowa.

We sincerely hope it may be in your power to visit us ere long and see for yourself the condition and prospects of Burlington. A short visit even, might [revive] the dying energies of our church and encourage us to hold together and persevere in hope of better days. Will you please inform me as soon as convenient, what we may hope for concerning you?

I am, with much respect and esteem,
truly your friend and servant
Albert S. Shackford

Rev. Wm. Salter,
Maquoketa,
Jackson Co.
Iowa.
Rev. Wm. Salter,
Dear sir:

Burlington. January 27, 1846

Yours of the 21st. is before me. As before I would urge you to come to Burlington as soon as consistent with your engagements at home and we shall therefore look for you at the time you have named.

Mr. Hutchinson's health for a few days seemed to rally a little, and we hoped the favorable symptoms exhibited would prove permanent, but he is again failing and there is great reason to fear he cannot continue long. I deeply regret being deprived of his services as our minister. His situation and that of Mrs. H. call for our deepest sympathy.

As it respects our church, we now number about forty members. The deaths and removals for the last two years have about kept pace with the additions. The male members are few, and fewer still the number disposed to work and bear the burdens of the day. When we have preaching our room, which is small, is generally well filled with attentive and interested listeners. Our House of Worship has made small progress upward the last two years, but preparations are now making to put it up as soon as the opening of Spring will permit. Mr. Starr, upon whom the work mainly depends, assures me it shall go on, and I think myself the prospect of having a House to worship in the next fall, looks brighter than ever before. The greater part of the moral, truth-loving portion of the community, I think sympathize with us. It appears to me that our organization with an efficient ministry is best adapted to meet the wants and feelings of the com-

munity. The Presbyterians stand on old school ground, which is altogether too narrow for many to stand with them, and under its present management it can accomplish little good. They have preaching every other Sabbath. Their preacher makes no impression here and probably will not be long with them. They will probably go on with their church building next Spring.

There is wanted here an energetic, persevering man who can labor hard and preach good sermons all the time. One who will too enlist the feelings of the people in himself. To be efficient here, a minister must calculate upon having a hard time of it.

My brother preaches regularly every Sabbath morning and evening, and his congregation is, I understand, large. His stay here longer than the Spring is rather doubtful.

But the best way is, as I meant to say in my former letter, come and see for yourself. Some of us think you are the man for this field, from what we have gathered of the opinions of others. We have none of us heard for ourselves. We do not like to be the means of removing you from a field in which you have labored so long and doubtless become much interested. It would be well too if we could add one more to the little band of laborers in Iowa by inviting another from the East. But we feel as if this field would suffer by remaining unoccupied for any length of time, and consequently we have looked to you. Therefore, I would in behalf of my brethern invite you to come and visit us that we may know what the Lord would have us all do.

With much respect and esteem

Sincerely your friend

Albert S. Shackford

Maquoketa, Iowa. March 25, 1846

Mr. Henry W. Starr, Mr. A. S. Shackford,
& Dr. S.S. Ransom.

Gentlemen:

Yours of the 16th. inst. inviting me in behalf of the Congregational Church and Society in Burlington to become their Pastor has engaged my serious attention.

Relying on the blessing of God, I accept your invitation, and shall endeavor to commence the public labor of my ministry among you on the second Sabbath in April (if the Lord will).

I am painfully conscious of my insufficiency to meet the solemn responsibilities to which your invitation calls me. And I could not assume them did I not feel assured of the prayers of the church in my behalf and trust in the promised aid of her Great Head.

I desire then to be remembered in the prayers of the church, so when I come with you I may come in the fulness of the blessings of the Gospel of Christ.

I am with great respect,

Your obedient servant in the Gospel.

Wm. Salter

THE STORY OF "THE DES MOINES RIVER LANDS"

BY JAMES B. WEAVER

Perhaps the most dramatic chapter in the history of the settlement of Iowa is comprised in the story of what for a half century was commonly known as "The Des Moines River Land Grant." It had its origin in an era in which water navigation ruled supreme and the states of the Union vied with one another in their eagerness to secure grants of land from Congress for river improvement. The promise of railroads was but a remote dream, their invasion of the area west of the Mississippi believed to be far in the future, if possible at all of accomplishment. The dependence for transportation was upon the rivers, the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Des Moines, and all the rest. Thus a grant by Congress August 8, 1846, to the Territory of Iowa "to aid in the improvement" of the Des Moines River from its mouth to the Raccoon Forks (the present site of the city of Des Moines) of every alternate section (640 acres) lying within five miles of the river (not otherwise disposed of, incumbered or appropriated) was hailed with joy by all as marking a milestone in the history of the territory, then eagerly seeking admission to the Union as a state. Steamboats had for years traversed the Des Moines. Captain Allen on May 1, 1843, arriving by boat at the Raccoon Forks, had established Fort Des Moines. It was the fervent belief of those in public life and out of it that it was entirely feasible by dams and locks to make the river a great and permanent artery of trade, the chief dependence of the state in the teeming commerce certain to follow its rapid development already under way.

Not a soul of that period could by the wildest flight of the imagination have guessed that the grant of August 8, 1846, was to prove utterly ineffective, an idle dream to be rudely shattered by the coming of the Iron Horse, and that it was to be but the beginning of an active and bitter controversy that should last for forty-six years (until January 20, 1892), intimately involving the lives and fortunes of thousands of individuals scattered along the river from its mouth well to the north boundary of the state.

EXTENT OF THE GRANT

It will be noted that the grant of land was to *aid in the improvement* of the navigation of the Des Moines River, and no conditions were attached. There was no guaranty of navigability. The grant arose from the conviction of Congress and of the people of Iowa that the river could be made an important artery of commerce, and that the funds for its improvement could be realized from the sale of the lands. The area to be improved was that portion of the river between its mouth and the Raccoon Forks, and was so stated in the grant. The river, however, in fact extended north to the Minnesota line. The gift did not in express terms fix the northern terminus of the *grant*, and immediately there arose between the state and the United States a question as to whether the grant of land stopped at the Raccoon Forks or extended north to the Minnesota line. If it extended only to the Raccoon Forks but 300,000 acres of land were involved; if to the state border, 1,300,000 acres. So the question of the extent of the grant was a very vital one to the state.

THE STATE ACCEPTS THE GRANT

Four months after the grant to the territory, to wit, on December 28, 1846, Iowa was admitted to the Union, and on January 9, 1847, the legislature accepted the grant.

Commissioner Piper of the United States General Land Office on October 17, 1846, had taken the position that the grant of land extended only to the Raccoon Forks. It will be noted that the grant was in terms of every alternate section (except such portions as had been theretofore disposed of, incumbered or appropriated) within five miles of the river, but it did not state whether it was of the even or odd numbered sections. December 17, 1846, the state, or the territory as it then was, decided to take the odd numbered sections and the grant became complete.

The new state on February 24, 1847, created a Board of Public Works to supervise the improvement, sell the land, and apply the proceeds in payment of the expenses of the improvement. It must be remembered that at that time the price at which the government was selling public land everywhere was \$1.25 per acre. An entire section of 640 acres would sell for \$800.00. September 22, 1847, the Board of Public Works met to arrange a visit to other states engaged in like projects.

CONFLICTING RULINGS BY DEPARTMENTS

On February 23, 1848, the United States commissioner of the General Land Office held that the grant extended to the north state boundary. In the meantime the state was busy with the work of improvement of the river. September 18, 1848, President Zachary Taylor, having recently issued a proclamation covering the matter of sale of public lands in Iowa, which appeared to conflict with the grant made to the state, the secretary of the State Board of Public Works, in behalf of the state, presented to the commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington a communication referring to the President's proclamation and stating that the state of Iowa had already contracted ninety miles of the proposed improvement and the consequent embarrassment growing out of the President's proclamation. In December, 1848, the General Assembly formally protested against the President's action and claimed that the grant extended north to the old territorial limits. January 8, 1849, senators and congressmen from Iowa filed a similar protest with Secretary of Treasury Robert J. Walker, and on March 2, 1849, Walker formally agreed that the grant extended from the source of the river to its mouth (except that portion embraced in lands located in the state of Missouri).

While the foregoing controversy was active, the state busy with its improvement, and the lands being sold for that purpose, the commissioner of the General Land Office, in view of the dispute as to whether the grant covered lands above the Racoon Forks, on June 1, 1849, entered an order reserving from public sale all lands within the limits of the grant above the Racoon Forks. This is a decisive fact in the whole history of the controversy after June 1, 1849, as will be later seen. The conflicting attitudes of the commissioners of the General Land Office at Washington from time to time were the origin of most of the trouble that arose over this grant in succeeding years. The General Land Office did not maintain a definite and consistent attitude, its holdings being dependent upon the decision of the commissioner in office at the moment a ruling was made.

STATE BECOMES EMBARRASSED

For instance, December 19, 1849, agreeable with the reservation of June 1, 1849, the commissioner of the Land Office writes

to the state that he will soon send a list of lands north of the Forks, and on January 14, 1850, he sends an estimate to the state that the land north of the Forks would amount to 900,000 acres. March 13, 1850, the commissioner sends to Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing three lists of lands north of the Forks within the Des Moines River Grant and stated his intention to certify same to the state as a part of the grant. However, on April 6, 1850, Secretary Ewing renders an opinion that the grant does not extend beyond the Forks and refuses the lists. Iowa's senators and representatives appeal to the President at once, protesting and referring at length to the obligations already incurred by the state in the improvement depending upon the former holdings of the department that the grant extended to the northern boundary of the state, and the embarrassment of the state due to the action of Secretary Ewing.

President Taylor at once referred the matter to Reverdy Johnson, attorney general, and on July 19, 1850, the latter rendered an opinion that the grant extended the entire length of the river in Iowa and denied Ewing's power to hold up the lists of lands to be certified. On December 30, 1850, the Iowa delegation in Congress wrote to Secretary of Interior Stuart, referred to the contracts that had been made for the improvement, the debt incurred and reliance on the grant for the sole source of revenue to pay for the work, and that the Improvement Board had no authority to go in debt.

STATE'S SITUATION GROWS WORSE

At this stage of the project the state had become seriously embarrassed by its inability to sell sufficient land at \$1.25 per acre to meet the bills incurred in the improvement. It must be remembered that the state in the sale of lands had to compete with the lands in the even numbered sections adjoining and could not ask more for the lands embraced in the grant than was being paid generally for government lands, which was, as stated, \$1.25 per acre. The bills on the improvement grew faster than the sales of the lands. In this dilemma, which was being actively considered by the governor and the legislature, the latter passed a bill authorizing the state to contract with individuals or companies for the completion of the work at and

below Keosauqua, according to the plans and specifications which the state had prepared, and to *pay for same in land* lying below the Raccoon Forks at not less than \$1.25 per acre, the docks and dams above Keosauqua to be paid for from lands above the Forks.

At this stage of proceedings President Taylor died early in 1851, and on June 30th of the same year a new attorney general, Crittenden, rendered an opinion that the grant stopped at the Raccoon Forks. Pursuant to this opinion, on July 26, 1851, the secretary of the interior directed the commissioner of the land office to reserve from market all lands north of the Forks, to give the state a chance to petition Congress for an extension of the grant. After further consideration by the President and Cabinet the secretary of the interior directs the commissioner of the General Land Office, October 29, 1851, that the question of the extent of the grant must go to the courts for decision, but that he would approve the proposed lists of lands above the Forks to be certified to the state "without prejudice to rights, if any there be, of other parties." In accordance with this action, on October 30th the secretary of the interior approved a list of lands to be certified to the state comprising 81,707.29 acres, and on March 10, 1852, a like list was approved to the state for 143,908.37 acres. November 1, 1852, both lists were sent by the secretary of the interior to V. P. Van Antwerp, then president of the Des Moines River Improvement Board, representing the state. November 30, 1852, the Improvement Board reports to the governor receiving the lists, with congratulations on the implied decision that the grant extended to the northern boundary of the state.

At this time the debt of the state connected with the improvement was \$108,000, and the commissioner refers to slow sales, difficulties in completing the work, and that the value of the work already done amounted to \$300,000.

December 7, 1852, Governor Hempstead reported to the General Assembly that the difficulties in the progress of the work were multiplying, that work was nearly all suspended and none finished, that there were no funds on hand, that the 188,466 acres below the Forks, which had been sold for \$235,708.81, was all spent; that there remained 143,401 acres worth \$166,752.80; that there was \$65,000 due and unpaid to contractors; that there were unliquidated claims amounting to \$180,000, and that it

would cost to complete the improvement from St. Francisville, Missouri, to Keosauqua, Iowa, \$210,000.

STATE SEEKS OUTSIDE CAPITAL

This dilemma was the most active matter for discussion on the meeting of the General Assembly in January, 1853. On January 19th the legislature authorized sale of all lands to pay debts and for completion as far as possible, and authorized the commissioner to convey any of the land to persons or companies for funds to carry on the improvement. A few days later, on January 24th, the legislature provided that any contract made must provide for an expenditure of \$1,300,000 on the work and the debts, and for completion as far as practicable, the contractor to look alone to the funds derived from the lands and without primary liability of the state.

June 14, 1853, a legislative commission reported that much of the land within the grant was not yet surveyed; that there were yet unsold in all 1,300,000 acres; that there had been realized from sales to date \$317,642.55, and that the debts were now \$104,625.44. December 17, 1853, the secretary of the interior certifies additional land amounting to 33,142.43 acres, and on December 30th certifies 12,813.51 acres more.

As is obvious from the foregoing, at this stage of the improvement the state found itself heavily in debt and that it was impossible to sell the lands fast enough to meet the growing bills. Evidently this situation, which of course was dealt with extensively in the press, came to the attention of capitalists in the East. The newspapers throughout the nation were full of the story of the development of the Mississippi Valley. Immigration was active. The eyes of the nation were turned to the possibility of homes to be found and fortunes to be made in the West, of which Iowa was the most fertile section.

NEW YORK COMPANY ORGANIZED

On December 17, 1853, one Henry O'Reilly, Esquire, of the state of New York, attracted by the possibilities of improvement in land values, entered into a contract with the state to complete the work of improvement by July 1, 1858, according to the plans and specifications under which the state had been operating, in exchange for all unsold lands within the grant and of the tolls at the locks and dams for forty years. The state was

anxious to be rid of the burden of the improvement, and of the debts already incurred. O'Reilly evidently had faith in the future of the state, and if he could find capitalists who would put up the money and take land in payment, great profits might be realized. O'Reilly put himself in touch with capitalists residing in the state of New York, chiefly in the vicinity of Cazenovia.

On May 19, 1854, O'Reilly went to New York and organized the Des Moines Navigation & Railroad Company, and at his request his own contract of December 17, 1853, with the state was cancelled. The incorporators of the new company were Edwin C. Litchfield, a capitalist, Porter Kibbee, Orville Clark, B. K. Whitmore, Henry O'Reilly, Alva Hunt, Elisha C. Litchfield, Henry Ten Eyck, John Stryker, Nelson B. Stewart and Electus Litchfield. Later many other New York men were drawn into the company, including Roswell S. Burrows of Albion, New York, W. C. Johnson, Calvin Burr, Horatio Seymour, John and Ira Davenport, and others. The headquarters of the company was originally at Ottumwa, but on January 10, 1858, was removed to Des Moines.

STATE CONTRACTS WITH COMPANY

On June 9, 1854, the state entered into a contract with the Des Moines Navigation & Railroad Company containing the following provisions:

a. Company to finish improvement from Mississippi to Racoon Forks by July 1, 1858.

b. Company to pay debts, not exceeding \$60,000, paying \$55,000 cash on account.

c. Company to receive all monies due from government and all demands and claims.

d. Company to pay salaries of officers and employees of improvement.

e. State to convey to company the lands at \$1.25 per acre, as fast as expenditures were made—24,000 acres for each \$30,000 expended.

f. State to convey lands for expenditures (b) and (d).

g. State engineers to govern prices of material and labor where not fixed in contract.

h. State board and engineer to control the work.

i. Company to have the rents and tolls for seventy-five years instead of forty, because more lands were sold before the contract than the state or company thought.

The company at once took over the plans and specifications and proceeded with the work of improvement.

COMING OF THE RAILROADS

This was in 1854—the very year in which the imaginations of the people west of the Mississippi were beginning to be stirred by the possibility of the coming of the railroads. In fact, the Iron Horse, the new hope of civilization, was stamping the soil of Illinois, impatient to cross to Iowa ground. In the interior primitive steamboats, inadequate in size and half the time aground on sand bars or hidden snags, were a torment. Eastern capital watching the migration catches the fever and a dozen companies (to use their present names) enter the field, racing for the banks of the Big Muddy. The Rock Island begins construction in '55 and spans the state in '69. The Burlington, starting in '54 reaches the Missouri in '70. The Milwaukee does likewise from '70 to '81. The Illinois Central starts in '70 and ends in '81. The northwestern reaches Cedar Rapids in '59 and Council Bluffs in '67. Time even to a pioneer becomes vital and as the eager settlers crowd off the trains at improvised stations, come from Chicago overnight, the noisy little steamers, puffing their grimy protest, drift into forgotten bays, derelicts on the stream of time.

The coming of the railroads was a new factor in the situation, promising transportation of grain and live stock over night to Chicago as compared with the slow processes of river navigation. Nevertheless, the state had received its grant, had for eight years been busy with the improvement, though with indifferent results, and had just made the contract of June 9, 1854, with the Des Moines Navigation & Railroad Company to proceed with the work and take land in payment. The state's commissioner of improvement December 1, 1854, reported to the General Assembly the difficulty of interesting sufficient capital and the furor from the coming of the railroads. To those most familiar with the situation it was obvious that the railroad might put a new color upon the wisdom of the whole river improvement. However, May 14, 1855, the state certifies to the navigation company 88,853

acres below the Raccoon Forks in payment for expenditures made to that date. In September, 1855, the company, to procure the necessary capital, issued its bonds to be secured by lands deeded and to be deeded to it as the work progressed. May 6, 1856, the state certifies 116,636 acres above the Forks in payment of \$144,657.00 expended by the company.

RAILROAD GRANTS CONFLICT

At this stage the railroads were beginning to make their own influence felt in Congress, and on May 15, 1856, Congress granted to the state of Iowa for railroad subsidies every alternate section within six miles of four railroads then being built east and west across the state, *but not including any lands theretofore reserved by competent authority for any work of public improvement.*

January 1, 1857, Commissioner Edwin Manning reports to the General Assembly that up to June 8, 1854, the state itself had expended on the improvement \$175,000, and that the company to December 1, 1856, had expended \$366,711.00 and had received 205,489 acres of land at \$1.25 per acre, leaving a balance due the company of \$109,489.00.

STATE DEMANDS THAT WORK STOP

The building of the four great cross-state railroad lines was revolutionary in its effect upon public sentiment. It was obvious almost over night that the new era meant railroad, not river, transportation. The state became restive, for the company had a right to go on and complete the improvement and receive the lands, but even after completion public opinion was convinced that the dependence of the future must be upon the railroads and not upon the rivers. In this situation, on March 22, 1858, the legislature made a proposition to the company to cease work, relinquish its claim to lands not yet conveyed to it, and definitely *threatened to enjoin the company* from further operating unless it accepted the proposition. At the same time the state granted to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines and Minnesota Railroad (the old K.D.), to aid in building the road, all of the remainder of the lands embraced in the River Land Grant, except those to be deeded to the company by the terms of the proposition made it by the state.

April 15, 1858, the company accepted the state's proposition and on May 3, 1858, the balance of the lands certified to the state were conveyed by Governor Lowe by fourteen deeds to the company covering the lands to which it was entitled under the terms of the settlement. January 9, 1860, the governor reports to the General Assembly that the settlement had been fully carried out and that the sum to be paid by the company as a part of the settlement had been paid.

It must be remembered that many thousands of acres of the land so deeded to the company were above the Raccoon Forks. Immediately after the execution of the deeds to the company United States Attorney General Jeremiah Black on March 29, 1859, rendered an opinion that the River Land Grant did not extend above the Raccoon Forks. In a suit by the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad Company against Litchfield the Supreme Court of the United States in December, 1859, held that the original grant did not extend above the Forks and that the certificates and deeds of lands above the Raccoon Forks were invalid.

CONGRESS CONFIRMS COMPANY TITLE

The Dubuque & Pacific Railroad Company presented to the government a list of lands claimed by it in the Fort Dodge district, which included many tracts already deeded by the state to the company. July 7, 1860, the commissioner of the General Land Office writes to the secretary of the interior that the office would take no action but wait until Congress had acted. The state had received the lands certified to it by the federal government, maintaining and believing that the grant extended above the Raccoon Forks. The state and the company had both spent their money so believing, and the question was whether Congress would validate the grant so far as related to the lands *which had been deeded by the state to the company* under the circumstances mentioned.

May 2, 1861, Congress by joint resolution recited that the lands certified to the state as a part of the Des Moines River Land Grant *and now held by bona fide purchasers from the state* were relinquished to the state. On July 10, 1862, Congress formally extended the grant to the north boundary of the state *so far as affected lands held by bona fide grantees from the state*. Thus the title to the lands embraced in the fourteen deeds from

the State of Iowa to the company were made good so far as the action of Congress could affect them.

THE SETTLERS UNION TAKES A HAND

In July, 1862, it had been fourteen years since the grant was made. As has already been seen there had been many conflicting holdings by secretaries of the interior, commissioners of the General Land Office and attorneys general as to whether any lands above the Raccoon Forks were embraced in the grant from the government, and at such times as the particular official in office held that the grant stopped at the Raccoon Forks filings and preemptions were permitted and filed by settlers on many thousands of acres of land claimed by the company and the state. Many acres were also seized by mere squatters with no effort to preempt at the land office. This resulted in hundreds of suits, mainly in Boone, Webster and Hamilton counties, between the Des Moines Navigation & Railroad Company and its grantees and the preemptioners or squatters who had seized possession. Some of these cases were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. In all cases the decisions were in favor of the title claimed by the company, but there were many cases of hardship. Some of the settlers had even received patents upon the strength of their preemptions. Some had made improvements, believing their title would be confirmed. The agitation and controversy thus engendered was acute on both sides of the river from the city of Des Moines to Humboldt County. It interfered with the development of the district involved. Hundreds of judgments for possession were rendered, but the settlers organized what was known as the Settlers Union, and as rapidly as writs of eviction were executed the settler moved back onto the land, or was restored to it by the Union. Writs of possession issued from the federal court were defied by the Union. In one instance, known as the Grosenbaugh case, United States Marshal Holbrook was shot in the arm while serving a writ of possession. United States Marshal Ethridge was very busy with the execution of these writs and had many dangerous experiences. There was one amusing case of a squatter, Mrs. Nicholas, who feigning illness when the marshal appeared, went to bed. The marshal, knowing of the ruse, sawed a hole in the side of the house sufficient to move the defendant out, bed and all. Standing by at the

time were many representatives of the Settlers Union, among them Henry Richardson, their local president. Needing some help in this situation the marshal on the spot deputized Richardson to assist in carrying out the bed, which he did, the crowd jeering. Immediately after which the settlers returned the defendant to the house.

About the town of Homer, in Webster County, which was a center of agitation, the officers met with the greatest difficulty, their harness being cut, and other like interference.

Just south of Pilot Mound, in Boone County, is a high mound which gives the name to the town. This was a rendezvous for the settlers, who lit bonfires on top of the mound when they wished to gather recruits. The agitation, of course, made itself felt in politics and congressmen from the affected district presented vigorously upon the floor of Congress their phase of the situation, demanding that Congress declare the company's lands public lands open to settlement.

CONGRESS DECLARES COMPANY'S TITLE VOID—CLEVELAND'S TWO VETOES

On March 11, 1886, Congress passed such an act, which was vetoed by President Cleveland, who reviewed the history of the grant and the decisions of the courts, and sustained the title of the company. In February, 1888, Col. C. H. Gatch, who was then in the state Senate, introduced a resolution memorializing Congress to make an appropriation to indemnify the settlers. Senator Woolson secured a substitute appealing to the government to bring an action in the courts to test the title of the company and of those who claimed by purchase from it.

In December, 1888, Congress passed another act to take the lands from the company bodily and open them to public settlement. This again was vetoed by President Cleveland upon the same grounds as his earlier veto. It was the contention of the President and of the company that the title of the latter was complete; that the company had received the lands from the state in accordance with the contract, had paid for every acre conveyed to it the \$1.25 called for by the contract, and that the Supreme Court of the United States had repeatedly confirmed its title. On the other hand, the claim of the champions of the settlers in Congress was that the entire controversy was highly

detrimental to the district involved and prevented its improvement; that admitting the decisions of the courts had always been in favor of the company, no action had ever been brought by the United States government in its own name to test the company's title, and that such action was desirable both from the standpoint of the settlers and the company, that the controversy might be ended once for all.

GOVERNMENT BRINGS TEST SUIT

Following this contention the Fiftieth Congress provided for an action in equity in the name of the United States government against the company and the most outstanding of its grantees, Edward H. Litchfield and others, to test the company's title. The action was brought in the United States District Court at Fort Dodge before Judge Oliver Perry Shiras. His decision, following the earlier cases, was in favor of the company. The government took the case on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, where on January 20, 1892, the final decision was rendered affirming the lower court, the opinion being given by Justice George Shiras, Jr., of the Supreme Court of the United States, a brother of the District Court judge who had heard the case at Fort Dodge.

CONGRESS GRANTS INDEMNITY TO THE SETTLERS

The settlers had said to Congress that if such a suit was brought they would abide by the decision, and very largely they carried out that promise. March 3, 1893, Congress made an appropriation of \$200,000 to indemnify settlers whose entry upon the land had been bona fide and pursuant to preemption or other filing at the land office. The bill provided for a commissioner, who came to Iowa, heard testimony at Fort Dodge, Boone, Ogden, and other points within the district involved, made his report, pursuant to which distribution was made of the fund among those entitled to it. The first appropriation was found insufficient in amount. A later appropriation was made of \$150,000, which was administered in the same way.

Thus ended an active, bitter controversy which had continued for forty-six years. As Justice Shiras of the United States Supreme Court ended his reading of the final opinion and laid the paper aside, he closed with the words, *Requiescat in pace*.

CONFLICTING RULINGS AS TO EXTENT OF GRANT

The following is a tabulated statement of the conflicting holdings of various commissioners of the Land Office, Cabinet officers, attorneys general, United States Supreme Court and United States Congress as to whether the Des Moines River Land Grant extended for the full length of the river from the south line of the state to the Minnesota line, or stopped at the Raccoon Forks in the City of Des Moines:

Grant—August 8, 1846

U. S. Commissioner Land

Office—Oct. 17, 1846.....to Raccoon Forks

U. S. Commissioner Land

Office—Feb. 23, 1848.....to Minnesota line

Secretary of Treasury Walker—Mar. 2, 1849.....to Minnesota line

Secretary of Interior Ewing—Apr. 6, 1850.....to Raccoon Forks

Attorney General Johnson—July 19, 1850.....to Minnesota line

Attorney General Crittenden—June 30, 1851.....to Raccoon Forks

Attorney General Black—March 29, 1859.....to Raccoon Forks

U. S. Supreme Court—December, 1859.....to Raccoon Forks

U. S. Congress—May 2, 1861.....to Minnesota line

U. S. Congress—July 10, 1862.....to Minnesota line

U. S. Congress—March 11, 1886.....to Raccoon Forks

U. S. Congress—December, 1888.....to Raccoon Forks

U. S. Supreme Court—Jan. 20, 1892.....to Minnesota line

It was these conflicting holdings which kept the whole matter in a state of unrest until the final decision January 20, 1892. This decision did not reverse the holdings of the Supreme Court in December, 1859, that the grant of lands stopped at the Raccoon Forks, but it upheld the validity of the title to the lands which had been earned by and deeded to the Des Moines Navigation & Railroad Company north of the Raccoon Forks.

Following the decision the lands were mainly and rapidly sold from that time to this, by the various owners to whom they had been deeded by the navigation company. These owners were many, including Roswell S. Burrow, Edward H. Litchfield and others, of the state of New York, Woolsey Wells and Richard Snell of Fort Dodge, and various others scattered over the country.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE MARCH 8-15, 1857

BY F. I. HERRIOTT
Professor in Drake University

"... he loves his own barn better than he loves our house. Let me see some more. *The purpose you undertake is dangerous—* Why, that's certain: 'tis dangerous to take a cold, to sleep, to drink; but I tell you, my lord fool, out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety."—Hotspur in *King Henry IV*, Pt. I, Act II, Sc. III.

"They who forget the battles of their country will have to fight them over again."—Emerson.

I

The settlers about the Lakes on March 8, 1857, all records show, had no suspicion at all of the impending disaster. They had no knowledge of the troubles at Smithland, Correctionville, Peterson and Gillet's Grove. They, of course, were not aware of the letters to Governor Grimes relating the outrages in the places just referred to and appealing for military protection, to which I shall refer later. Inkpaduta's braves suddenly appeared among them. Dr. Harriott's unpublished letter of March 6 states that the Indians were encamped on that date at least, and may have been there on the 5th.¹ Mrs. Sharp says that the Indians appeared on March 7, namely Saturday. The two reports are not necessarily inconsistent.²

Inkpaduta's plan of operations was very simple but it clearly met the requirements of the best military maxims which he followed in many another battle with the whites when his reputation for military prowess and success reached high levels. He pitched his camp not far from the Mattock cabin, hard by the east end of the causeway between East and West Okoboji. It was a perfect disposition of his forces for effective maneu-

[This article concludes the series of studies of the Spirit Lake Massacre begun in the ANNALS OF IOWA for April, 1932, with "Dr. Isaac H. Harriott: a Victim of etc." (pp. 242-294) and for July with "The Origins of the Indian Massacre between the Okobojis" (pp. 322-382).]

¹Ante, p. 290: R. A. Smith, *History of Dickinson County*, p. 63.

²Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre* (Edition of 1885), p. 62.

vers. He commanded the major strategic center and he thus realized the dominant Roman military maxim—*Divide et impera*—Divide and conquer. He had his white foes divided three ways. There was a mile's distance between the Gardner and Mattock cabins. He controlled the eastern terminus of the causeway, across which the members of the Red Wing group, Messrs. Carl Granger, Bertell Snyder, Joseph Harshman and Dr. Harriott would have to come should they venture to attack him. The Howe and Thatcher cabins were three miles distant up on the easternmost bend of the east shore of East Okoboji and with the smaller of the cluster of little bodies of water now called Gar Lake between his camp and an attack from the east.

In his tactics in the accomplishment of his fell purpose he was adroit and most successful, although abominable in his method and utterly without mercy—but not a whit more treacherous, merciless or ruthless than was Henry Lott in the murder of Inkpaduta's mother, brother and nephews and nieces on Bloody Run three years before. He and his braves came to the cabins with ostentatious friendly feelings asking for food or ammunition. Inkpaduta seems to have had the reputation about Fort Dodge and the northwest of being very cautious, never striking unless he felt that he had his prospective foe or victim wholly within his grasp. Thus when his braves invaded the Gardner cabin Sunday morning they sat with the family at the breakfast table, pretending friendship. Soon they began to demand ammunition and guns in a more and more arrogant, insolent, and then threatening manner. But when Dr. Harriott and Bertell Snyder entered the cabin they immediately desisted, for these two young men presented a front that made them hold their hand until things were more favorable.³ Their friendly disposition was apparently such that young Harriott could not believe that the Indians had any death dealing designs and argued against Mr. Gardner's fears and proposal to warn the rest of the settlers. There is a tradition that Mrs. Gardner had some idealistic notions about Indians which she derived from Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* which prevented her concurring in her husband's fears and concurring with Dr. Harriott's optimistic feelings.⁴ Inkpaduta's pretenses of friendship were his

³*Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴*The Palimpsest*, Vol. IV, p. 283. The source or basis for the assertion is not given.

most effective tactics. He soon struck and struck without mercy.

The number of Indians directly or indirectly involved in the Indian depredations of the fall of 1856 and winter of 1857 culminating in the Massacre between the Okobojis has been a much disputed question. In his first official report to Governor Grimes of April 12 Major William Williams states that when he reached the state line he "learned the Indians embodied 200 or 300 strong at Spirit Lake and Big Island Groves."⁵ Later in his report he declared, "As near as I could ascertain, the Indian force was from 150 to 200 warriors."⁶ In his "Historical Sketches of Northwestern Iowa" published ten years later he says:

From all that could be ascertained the force of Indians who had combined to break up the white settlements at Spirit Lake, and on the Des Moines were in all numbering perhaps 250, posted so as to prevent any escaping. They were posted as follows: 20 tepees around Spirit Lake which allow 5 warriors to a tepee, and those who are conversant with the Sioux tepees, know that each one of them will accommodate from 8 to 10 each; 4 tepees at Big Island Grove; and at or near Springfield and Gaboo's Trading House some 17 or 20 tepees. All the Sioux of the following bands: The Red Tops, or Inkipaduta's bands, the Sissetons, and Yanktons, with no doubt stragglers from other bands.⁷

Mrs. Sharp asserts that Inkipaduta's band was variable in size: "the number of his followers varying from time to time from fifty to one hundred and fifty; as individuals of similar character, from different bands of Sioux joined or deserted him." She then names from memory eleven chiefs or braves, but does not pretend to give a complete list.⁸ Major Williams was certain that the half-breed, Gaboo, of the trading station near Springfield was in the conspiracy and states that his squaw was wearing some of Mrs. Church's clothes, who had fled from Springfield and was rescued by Major Williams' command. Mr. Doane Robinson, as we have seen, charges that Ishtaba (Sleepy Eyes) and his band was in collusion with Inkipaduta and was chargeable with a part in the conspiracy. His band was near Heron Lake.

The actual numbers involved probably cannot now be stated with any assurance. Mrs. Sharp's recollections relate obviously

⁵Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷*Iowa North West*, May 22, 1867.

⁸Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

to those with which she came in contact and Major Williams was estimating those who were probably within the probabilities as ready to help Inkpaduta if he succeeded fairly easily and the danger of swift pursuit was remote. If Inkpaduta had any large plans for driving the whites out of the upper terrain, comprehending the lake region, the head waters of the Des Moines and the Pipestone Quarries and the Vermillion, they were utterly frustrated by the prompt appearance of Captain Bee's troopers within the environs of Springfield.

It is improbable that we shall ever know definitely precisely what precipitated the attack upon the settlers in the afternoon of Sunday, March 8, 1857. The Indians left the Gardner cabin, or its immediate vicinity, about noon. But they drove off the cattle belonging to the Gardners and shot some of them. This fact indicated unmistakable malevolence. It was decided to send word to the other cabins of the dangerous signs, Harvey Luce and a Mr. Clark undertaking to give the warning. They did not return alive. About three o'clock Sunday the occupants of the Gardner cabin, awaiting their return, heard firing in the neighborhood of the Mattock cabin and realized that the worst they had been dreading was impending. Mr. Gardner proceeded to put the house in order to give the Indians a warm reception, but Mrs. Gardner, still possessed by her Christian faith or her youthful idealistic belief in the goodness of all men, believed that their hospitality to them in the morning would keep the Indians from attacking them, protested the use of firearms, saying, "If we have to die, let us die innocent of shedding blood."⁹

Writing to Charles Aldrich's *Hamilton Freeman*, some four months afterwards, Mr. Jereb Palmer, who was a resident of the Springfield settlement, and later joined Major Williams' command, gives us the only explanation of the nominal origin of the trouble precipitating the attack upon the Mattock cabin. He says:

Black Buffalo at Woods store in Springfield told them [Palmer and Morris Markham, who carried the first news of the Massacre to Springfield] that the trouble started over some hay that an Indian attempted to take without leave. The white man told him to leave the hay alone, which he refused to do. The white man struck him, then another Indian interfered, who was shot by the whites. Then the fight commenced.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 69.

They said it was a fair battle; but that they had killed about forty whites and only lost three of their warriors.¹⁰

The story is not at all improbable. The driving off and shooting of the Gardner cattle and the hay episode suggest various interpretations. The Indians may have been seeking some pretense for "starting things." The Sioux, however, had communistic ideas of property and its use. What any one of the tribe possessed was appropriable by any one who wanted it and could take it, when not in actual use by the nominal owner. They took from each other as desire or whim prompted; and there was no reason, save danger, why they should not take from the whites whatever they might want. They were in serious need of food. The wanton destruction of the Gardner cattle, however, clearly indicated malevolence.

The attack was well planned and carried out with marked skill and with horrible completeness. There were twenty men, women and children killed on Sunday, and twelve more struck down on this side of the state line in the next five days, Mr. William Marble being the last victim, living on the midwest shore of Spirit Lake. Four women were spared and taken with the retreating band as captives—Abbie Gardner, age fourteen, Mrs. J. M. Thatcher, Mrs. Alvin Noble and Mrs. William Marble. Mrs. Noble and Mrs. Thatcher were brutally murdered while the Indians were retreating. The sorry details of the massacre on Sunday and Monday, March 8-9, 1857, by Inkpaduta's band I shall not undertake to relate as they have been sufficiently set forth in the accounts of Mrs. Sharp, and Messrs. Gue, Smith, and Teakle.

II

The first credible report of the catastrophe between the Okobojis was brought to Fort Dodge by Messrs. Orlando C. Howe,¹¹ Cyrus Snyder and Robert M. Wheeler on the afternoon of Saturday, March 21, according to most accounts, and apparently late in the day. As already indicated so many and variable reports had been reaching Fort Dodge about Indian troubles, and varying considerably in their credibility, that the people were more or less dubious or hesitant about accepting them at par.¹²

¹⁰*The Hamilton Freeman*, July 30, 1857.

¹¹Orlando C. Howe was the first county judge of Dickinson County and later professor of law in the Law School of the State University of Iowa.

¹²*Ante*, p. 246. Footnote 4.

But the characters of Messrs. Howe and Wheeler and the specific nature of their reports soon convinced the inhabitants that the dreaded event had actually occurred.

A mass meeting was called at the School House for the next afternoon. Messengers were sent immediately to Border Plains, Homer and Webster City. The one foremost in pushing matters was Major William Williams whom Governors Stephen Hempstead and James W. Grimes had each given a general commission to act for the chief executive of the state of Iowa in any emergency which might arise calling for military protection against the Indians, and, so far as practicable without specific legislative authorization, to effect plans for its organization. Major Williams acted as chairman of the meeting and Charles B. Richards as secretary. The meeting was soon convinced of the dire need of instant and decisive action by the narratives of Messrs. Howe, Snyder and Wheeler. Their statements were later consolidated into an affidavit which was forwarded to Governor James W. Grimes. The original is now in the files of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, and so far as my knowledge goes is here reproduced for the first time.

THE AFFIDAVIT OF MESSRS. ORLANDO C. HOWE, CYRUS J SNYDER AND ROBERT M. WHEELLOCK

On the evening of Monday, March 16th 1857 we in company with B. F. Parmenter arrived at the House of Joel Howe in the vicinity of Spirit Lakes Dickinson County Iowa. We noticed that the house had apparently been broken into. And articles of furniture Books &c thrown out and scattered around. Two of us (Howe & Wheelock) then went to the house of Milton Thatcher, about a mile and a half beyond & found that in a similar condition & then first suspected the affair to be the work of Indians. On returning to Mr. Howes, Snyder & Parmenter had noticed within the house a dead body, there was on the floor a quantity of clothing and bedding and nearly covered by it lay a dead body. We had noticed moccasin tracks several days old about the houses, and from some indications suspected that there were yet Indians in the Groves.

It being too dark to travel with any knowledge as to our direction, we remained till nearly light, and then examined what we had supposed to be a heap of corpses. On removing the body exposed, we found others under it thrown promiscuously together, some partly covered with Bed clothes others having bodies thrown upon them. We did not count the bodies lying there, but from recollection as to the position they were lying in, and from recognizing several of their persons, can positively identify seven, altho there were probably several more. We

noticed on several of the bodies wounds that were apparently the causes of their death, but made no particular examination as to most of them. A Gun barrel which from our description has since been identified, as belonging to one of the persons who were in the house probably at the time of the murders, was lying upon the bodies. The stock had been broken off at the breech, and there were other signs of a desperate resistance.

Wheelock & Howe recognized several of the bodies as being those of some of Mr. Joel Howes family. there was one child less than two years old, and other children of the family. On reaching the west fork of the Des Moines River, we found that an account of the affair at the Lakes had reached the settlement there. We ascertained that for several weeks persons had left the river for the lakes and were not again heard from, until Mr. Morris Markham had been there and returned about ten days or two weeks previously to us. His statements as repeated to us by others were that he arrived at the house of Mr Gardner, at the Lakes about sunset, and saw the dead bodies of Mrs Gardner and children & of Mrs Luce & child. They were frozen and from various appearances he thought they were murdered two or three days previously. The corpse of Mrs Luce was lying in the doorway and had been partly eaten by wolves, the others were lying out of doors. One child thrown upon a snow bank. Gardners oxen were standing near the door yoked to a sled, as tho left by him a day or two before. Markham did not go into the house but cautiously proceeded up the Lakes to the house of Mr Mattocks. here he came upon several Lodges of Indians and was in the midst of them when he first saw them. He then worked his way out undiscovered and then went further on three or four miles to Mr Joel Howes. his description of the appearance of this house was just as we found it, but he did not go in and saw no corpses.

He then went to Mr Thatchers where he had been boarding and found matters on the outside as we did, & then went inside found fire remaining on the hearth, but Thatchers wife and child were missing. He then left, camped on the prairie, by which his feet were frozen, & next day he reached the settlements.

We found Mr Thatcher on the river, he having seen Markham & heard of the captivity or destruction of his family while on his way home with provisions. Some of us are acquainted with Mr Thatcher & regard him as a man of truth and not given to exaggeration & we found his description correct wherever we went.

From the best information we have, we are sure there were about forty persons at the Lakes, from twelve to twenty have been seen dead, the others are probably either besieged, prisoners, or dead.

(signed) Orlando C. Howe

Cyrus Snyder

Rob't M. Wheelock

The foregoing was sworn to and subscribed before Charles B. Richards, acting county judge, on the 22d day of March, 1857.

The meeting decided on two undertakings without much debate—first, raising three companies, two at Fort Dodge and one at Webster City, to send to the rescue of the settlers at the Lakes; and second, to forward to Governor James W. Grimes a communication showing the grave dangers by which the north-western frontier communities were menaced, their inability to protect themselves, or to carry on for any great length of time, and to urge the chief executive to secure adequate protection.

In furtherance of the first project Messrs. Hezekiah Beecher, N. B. Morrison, E. E. Colburn, John F. Duncombe and Charles B. Richards were named a committee "to enlist volunteers, and make necessary preparation for the volunteers to start for the Spirit Lakes on Tuesday morning the 24th of March and provide them with the necessary outfit."

The three companies of thirty-two each were officered as follows: The Fort Dodge companies, Company A, Captain, Charles B. Richards; Company B, Captain, John F. Duncombe; Webster City, Company C, Captain, John C. Johnson. Major Williams, although sixty years of age, was made commander. The selection was preeminently fit. He was their commander in very truth, easily dominating the men of his command by the clarity and soundness of his judgment, the sturdiness of his character in the midst of stress, his constant concern for the welfare of his men whose exactions and trials he shared generously with them.¹³

On the same day that Major Williams' command left Fort Dodge, Tuesday, March 24, on their celebrated march to the Lakes, the leaders of the town formulated, agreed to, and signed an Address to Governor James W. Grimes, which with the affidavit of Messrs. Orlando C. Howe, Cyrus Snyder and Robert M. Wheelock, previously quoted, and a transcript of the minutes of the proceedings of the mass meeting of Saturday, March 21, was sent to the Governor at his home at Burlington, Iowa. The communication and its enclosures did not reach Governor Grimes for fifteen days because of the difficulties of transit at that time of the year.

The communication to the Governor is an interesting recital and it is reproduced entire with all signatories:

¹³*Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. II. Gov. Cyrus C. Carpenter on Major William Williams, pp. 146-160.

Fort Dodge March 24 1857

To his Excellency James W Grimes

The peace of the settlements in this vicinity have [sic] been broken and we the undersigned citizens of Ft Dodge deem it our duty to inform your excellency of the extent and perpetrators (so far as known) of the outrages hereafter described

Some 3 weeks since we were petitioned by the inhabitants on the little Sioux for assistance to protect them from the depredations of the Indians who they stated had killed their cattle stolen their horses and fire arms and ravished their women under the most barbarous and revolting circumstances—Our people listened to their reports with incredulity although attested to in the most solemn manner under oath and by parties in whose families the worst of the aforesaid outrages had been committed—(The affidavits of these men are on file with the Justice of the Peace in this place A. M. Dawley) but no action was taken until these messengers had arrived from the scene of the difficulties when a company volunteered to go to their assistance

The extreme reluctance on the part of our citizens to act in the premises was from the almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of getting on to the Little Sioux—The trip had to be made on foot through the deep snow a distance of 75 miles and over an open prairie with provisions on their backs or on hand sleds it being impossible to get teams through on account of the depth of snow and sharp crust which would disable animals in less than one days march—But before our foot expedition was fitted out a 4th messenger arrived stating that the Indians had left the settlements on the Little Sioux en rout for Spirit lakes where there was a settlement of some 40 or 50 souls—For a few days past there has been vague wild rumors in regard to the fate of this settlement—People who went over from the Des Moines did not return again which excited the anxiety of one man who had sent his son with a hand sled for flour so far that he went in pursuit—He approached the settlement after dark and on entering a house he stumbled over a dead body and close by he saw another corpse and upon further examination He found the indians still in possession of the house—He made the best of his way back to settlement on the Des Moines camping on the open prairie and freezing his feet

The next and only authoritative information we have in regard to the fate of the people of Spirit Lakes your excellency will find in a certified copy of the affidavits of 3 men who spent one night in one of the houses with its murdered inmates and they in their turn came to us for assistance—We could no longer turn a deaf ear to the calls of our fellow citizens—A meeting was called after notifying the citizens of this and Hamilton counties the proceedings of which your excellency will find enclosed and which resulted in the organization of 3 companies of volunteers numbering 75 well armed men which started this morning under command of Maj. Williams to capture and punish the perpetrators of these outrages if they can be found and for the rescue of the

settlement on Spirit lake if any were found alive, if not to pay the last sad rites to their dead and give them a christian burial

We fear our little band of pioneers will meet with stubborn resistance—There are rumors of outbreaks on the St Peters or Minnesota River—All communication is cut off from Ft Ridgely. Scouts from the upper Des Moines have endeavored to penetrate through with out success. Whatever may be the future intention of the savages they have taken advantage of deep snows and High waters to strike a blow upon our defenceless frontiers which is calculated to do serious and lasting injury to our portion of the state unless promptly met and overcome

The expedition now under way had to be made on foot through snow and water accompanied by ox teams to carry provisions and Baggage as the country north of us is so sparsely settled and poorly provisioned that our men were obliged to fit out the commissary department for the entire trip from this place, thinking it not prudent to depend upon the upper country for any supplies whatever—This drain upon our storehouses will be felt in this community as we have no surplus on hand crops having failed in this section for the last 2 years and provisions of all kinds have to be brought from below to supply this town and the whole country north and northwest of us—Hence your Excellency will at once see our utter inability to sustain any prolonged operations in the field or to give that prompt protection which the situation of our frontier demands

We submit these facts and affidavits to your excellency for your consideration leaving the rest to the report of Major Williams who we are confident will do all that can be done to investigate the matter and bring it before you at the earliest date—We are most

Resp'y

Your Ob't Ser'ts

N. B. Morrison

Hezekiah Beecher

William S. Meservey

Geo Gregory

John M Parker

— Wm H Merritt

Jno Garaghty

E. Elliott Colburn

Fred Booth

Wm W. White

Sam'l Rees

Charles A. Sherman

Thos Sargent

L. M. Olcott

Geo T Noble

Jarvis T Howe

C. Hagard Vincent

Martin Strong Jr

Wm. H. Plumb

Thos. N. Skinner

H Burkholder

G V P Patterson

Upon receipt of the aforementioned communication with accompanying documents Governor Grimes immediately addressed a letter to President James Buchanan enclosing all three documents for his information. Governor Grimes' letter follows:

Executive Office, Iowa
Burlington 8th April 1857

Sir

I have the honor to enclose herein papers just reced. from Fort Dodge in this State, in relation to outrages perpetrated upon citizens of this state, residing in that vicinity, by Indians.

The Indians complained of are predatory bands of Sioux, belonging to the region north west of us, and who molest our extreme western settlements, more or less, every winter. They seem to have become more desperate than ever before and according to the statements enclosed, have already perpetrated several atrocious murders.

The characters of several of the citizens whose names are attached to the enclosed statement of facts are well known to me, and I am prepared to vouch for the substantial accuracy of their representations.

I have been unwilling to call upon the militia of this state to enter the field until the facts shall be laid before you and the protection of the Federal Government invoked.

Trusting that prompt & efficient steps will be taken by you to protect the infant settlements on the western border of our state and to bring the perpetrators of these crimes to punishment. I have the honor to subscribe myself

Your obdt. servt.

James W. Grimes

To His Excellency

James Buchanan

President of the United States.¹⁴

Governor Grimes' letter to President Buchanan produces a somewhat mixed impression. He enjoyed a reputation for forthrightness and decisiveness of opinion and explicit action. But that letter does not suggest such. It leaves one uncertain. The first impression is that he did not quite realize the serious character of the attack on the settlements at the Lakes although the specific allegations of Messrs. Howe, Snyder and Wheelock strike one as sufficiently realistic to satisfy the most exacting stickler for a bill of particulars. Again, while he knew several of the signers of the Fort Dodge address sufficiently to make him willing "to vouch for the substantial accuracy of their representations" Governor Grimes' letter is cool to the point of chilliness in calling the President's attention to the urgency of the need of action. Finally his frank assertion of his unwilling-

¹⁴It was my coming upon Gov. Grimes' letter to Pres. Buchanan in the Governor's Letter Book that led to the discovery of the affidavit of Messrs. Howe, Snyder and Wheeler and the Address of the citizens of Fort Dodge to the Governor. I am indebted to the courtesy of Hon. C. J. Rhoades, Indian Commissioner, and Curator Harlan for the photostat copies of the aforementioned documents accompanying Gov. Grimes' letter to Pres. Buchanan.

ness to call out and send the militia against the Indians until the President had had a chance to act first suggests a diplomatic "feeler" or equivocation. Moreover, it was rather inconsistent with his appointment of Major Williams to the office of his military aid in the northwestern counties and to act for him in just such circumstances—precisely as he, Major Williams, was then doing at the head of his marching volunteers. Major Williams was in fact acting under what were quasi "standing orders." The horrible bill of particulars which had come to him—and which he deemed sufficient to stir the President into action—should, it seems to me, have aroused the Governor of Iowa to the same degree of energetic action which the first news of the disaster at the Lakes produced in the lawmakers and Governor Samuel Medary of Minnesota Territory, to which I shall refer later.¹⁵

President Buchanan referred Governor Grimes' letter and enclosures to Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson, who at once asked Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. W. Denver to report. In a reply under date of April 21 Mr. Denver said that his department already had a report from Agent Flandrau and Superintendent Huebschmann, notifying him of the reported massacre and of their plan to send a military troop to the region in danger and to punish the offenders. But he hesitated to indicate more than tentative opinions or plans until his office had more detailed information. He suggested that the Secretary of War be asked to investigate the need of military measures on that frontier.¹⁶ Whether Governor Grimes received any direct acknowledgment of his letter to President Buchanan I am unable to state. There is nothing discoverable in the archives of the state so to indicate.

III

The extraordinary experiences of the members of the Spirit Lakes Expedition, if we are to appreciate them in all their seriousness and variety, must be viewed more or less in relation

¹⁵Gov. Grimes may have been in the same state of general doubt as to what to believe that he was when he wrote to Secretary of State George W. McCleary under Feb. 14, 1855, when he said: "I am beset with petitions for the removal of the Indians. I am constantly receiving all kinds of letters on the subject and I am wholly at a loss to know how much credit to give any of them. I have about made up my mind to disbelieve them all."—Gov. Grimes' Letter Book in Archives Division, Hist., Memo. and Art Dept. of Iowa.

¹⁶Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. W. Denver to Secretary J. Thompson. Original in office of the Commissioner at Washington. Photostat copy in Historical Department.

to those undergone by the national troops which were stationed at Fort Ridgely and ordered to the relief of the stricken settlements.

Upon receipt of authentic information about the attack upon the settlements on or near Spirit Lake Agent Charles E. Flandrau of the Lower Sioux Agency located on the Yellow Medicine instantly informed Colonel E. B. Alexander in command at Fort Ridgely and on the morning of Thursday, March 18, he and Captain Barnard E. Bee with Company D of the Tenth U. S. Infantry were on their way to the relief of the terror-stricken survivors of the massacre. Their experiences were appalling; snow lay deep on the ground with heavy drifts, with intermittent warm and freezing winds making progress both very slow and wearisome; ". . . wading through deep drifts; cutting through them with spade and shovel; extricating mules and sleighs from sloughs, or dragging the latter up steep hills or over bare spaces of prairie; the men wet from morning till night, and sleeping on the snow. Such," reported Captain Bee, "were the obstacles I encountered while still on the beaten track. . . . From this point (Slocum's farm) to the Des Moines was an unbroken waste of snow."¹⁷

The story of Major Williams' command in the expedition for the relief of the survivors of Inkpaduta's attack upon the settlement between the Okobojis is one that the citizens of Iowa in these peaceful days, as they approach the centenary of the state's beginnings, should con carefully and ponder well. We live in piping times of peace when men and women and the youth seem to be heedless, reckless, and contemptuous of or indifferent to the stern lessons of the past; and, as one of the notable members of the Expedition who risked his all, Gov. Cyrus C. Carpenter, said to his fellow citizens thirty years later, quoting the injunction of the Sage of Concord—"They who forget the battles of their country will have to fight them over again."¹⁸

From the moment the Expedition left its rendezvous at Fort Dodge until its storm-wracked members (save two, frozen to death) returned three weeks later, its narrative is a story to

¹⁷Capt. Barnard E. Bee to tL. H. E. Maynardier, adjutant, April 9, 1857.—Senate Exec. Doc's 1st Sec., 35th Cong., No. 20, p. 352.

¹⁸ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, p. 491.

make one proud of Iowa's pioneers and her citizens and emigrant sons and daughters exult in their descent from such sturdy sires. Facing the cold cutting blasts of the winter's winds, driving forward towards dangers which they could not either foresee or measure, going to the aid of fellow mortals, for the most part, strangers to them, those pioneers, men unknown, unheralded, and unsung, showed a willingness to endure, and put forth effort and displayed such an energy in sacrifices for their companions, even when Nature's ruthless forces had beaten them to the ground, that it requires the facile, flashing pen of a Xenophon adequately to relate. The most casual study of their stout characters and fine conduct in the sudden crisis which they faced will convince commoner and cynic alike that they were made of the stuff of which strong states are made. To their uttermost they fulfilled Wordsworth's prerequisite of human liberty under law:

High sacrifice and labour without pause
even to the death.

The details of the intolerable sufferings and heroic work of the members of the Relief Expedition would have been almost lost in the mists of variable and vanishing memories but for the foresight and public spirit of Charles Aldrich, founder of *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, later founder of the Aldrich Collections, and of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa and the first editor of this, the Third Series of the ANNALS OF IOWA. In the columns of *The Freeman* in 1857 he began gathering memorabilia of the Massacre and the Relief Expedition. Thirty years later, it was his genius and pen that inspired the movement which concluded in the emplacement of a memorial tablet in the Court House of Hamilton County on August 12, 1887, celebrating the heroic services of the members of Company C, composed of citizens of Webster City and environs. Again it was Charles Aldrich's forward-moving spirit that aroused and focused public interest in securing the enactment by Iowa's General Assembly of the law of April 4, 1894, providing for the erection of a monument to commemorate the lives of the victims of the tragedy on the shores of Mde-Mini-Wakan and the heroic services of the members of Major Williams' command in their efforts to rescue the sur-

vivors.¹⁹ In these pages he brought together the notable addresses, articles and correspondence containing the recollections of such participants in the Expedition as Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter, Captains Chas. B. Richards and John F. Duncombe, Lieutenants John N. Maxwell and Frank R. Mason, Sergeant Harris Hoover and Messrs. W. K. Laughlin and Michael Sweeney.²⁰

Colonel George W. Crossley of Webster City and Dr. Thomas Teakle have each given us effective summaries of the frightful experiences of the members of Major Williams' command, and I shall not essay a minute account of the Iliad of their woes. But in these rapid days when furnace heated houses, apartments and club rooms and fast-moving motor cars and trucks and vacuum cleaners are producing habits of thought that seem to be making for languor and cynicism among the youth of the land, it may not be amiss to recall and to focus attention on some of those soul-trying experiences on that heart-breaking march to the shores of the Okobojis and the almost fatal sufferings of the men on their return. Even the minutia of what the members of the three companies each and all more or less endured are luminous of the fine morale and finer humanity which controlled throughout the grilling trials that tested their souls.

IV

If we are to sense the real differences in the sufferings of the troopers under Captain Bee's command with those endured by the men in Major Williams' command we must appreciate several ground facts:

First, unlike Captain Bee's soldiers, Major Williams' men were not drilled, disciplined troops, prepared for any sort of strenuous experiences. They were utterly unprepared for such an undertaking. Second, in the rush of the three days when they were assembled and organized they could neither design nor stock an adequate commissariat, for obviously they lacked that prime necessity, a foreseeing, forehanded quartermaster who anticipates the many variable needs and sees to it that the supplies are in stock and available; and thus they started on their march ill-equipped with clothes, boots or shoes and insufficient food. Third, Major Williams' command got under way when marching

¹⁹Teakle, *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, p. 263-4.

²⁰ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, pp. 481-553; V. pp. 14-26.

conditions were almost at their maximum worst. The winter of 1856-1857 was one of extraordinary severity and March and April of 1857 displayed more than usual violent variability in the temperature, the winds, and kinds of precipitation of moisture, which facts enhanced the difficulties of the march intolerably. The snows of that winter had covered the prairies, uplands and valleys from one to two feet in depth and in the gullies and ravines through which the companies had to make their way many times they found the snow from six to twelve feet deep. Warm winds produced mists and rains and the rapid melting of the snow which flooded the creeks and rivers and made the low-lying prairies continuous swamps through which passage taxed their strength to the uttermost. But within forty-eight hours they might be pushing their way against furious blast of lashing winds with the temperature down below thirty degrees.

A few items from the records left us will show what dire exactions and distress the officers and men alike endured. The first I present is an extract from Governor Carpenter's address at the unveiling of the tablet to the memory of the work of the Company C of Webster City on August 12, 1887. Although suffering from snow-blindness, and returning home to Fort Dodge, young Carpenter joined the Expedition about twelve miles south of Medium Lake in Palo Alto County; and thereupon faced about, with Captain Richards' Company started towards the Oko-bojis. Of that first day's march he says:

During the remainder of the day we toiled along the road back to the Irish colony [near Medium Lake]. In doing so we marched over a route along which no team had been able to pass for weeks. Every foot of the way was covered with snow, and in places, where there was a depression in the surface of the prairie, or an elevation like a bluff or a knoll, were drifts which seemed fathomless. At such points we would resort to various expedients to get the team and the few horses in the command across the drifts. Sometimes all the men in the command would form in two files, about the distance apart of two wagon tracks, and would march and countermarch back and forth over the snow, until paths were trodden sufficiently hard to bear up the team and horses. Again we would shovel a channel where the drift was so shallow and short as to render this expedient practicable; and then at other times we would hitch our long rope to the wagon, and by sheer force of muscle and numbers pull it through the drift, and throwing the animals upon their sides, pull them, one by one, across the drifts;

and each day's march, until we had crossed Cylinder Creek upon our return, was but a constant repetition of these expedients.²¹

The second night he was with the company it camped near Mud Lake in Clay County, some twelve miles west and four miles north of Medium Lake and there he witnessed the serious concern of the officers for the welfare of their men. He says:

Many of the men were so exhausted that on coming into camp they threw themselves upon their blankets and were determined to sleep without a mouthful of food; and the picture is before me until this day, of Captain Charles B. Richards and Lieutenant F. A. Stratton, of our company, with two or three of the men, cutting wood, punching the fire, and baking pancakes, until long after midnight; and as they would get enough baked for a meal they would waken some tired and hungry man and give him his supper; and the exercises in Company A were but a sample of what was in progress in each of the companies.²²

Captain Duncombe had an harrowing experience which gave him a remarkable demonstration of the devotion and loyalty of two of his company, Lieutenant Maxwell and Mr. R. U. Wheelock. When he left Fort Dodge he was suffering acutely from intense pain in his neck and ear. For two nights he slept but little. At the close of the second day, which was one continuous nerve racking struggle, Captain Duncombe was faint from utter exhaustion due to lack of both sleep and food and the incessant pain he suffered. Mr. Wheelock had a vial of medicine he had brought from Fort Dodge to prevent cold and gave it to Captain Duncombe. It proved to be compounded of laudanum. The consequences I will let Captain Duncombe relate:

Within two minutes from the time I took this medicine I was seriously affected, on account of the weakened condition of my system from lack of food. I bit my lips until they bled to keep up, supposing that I was becoming exhausted and not thinking of the medicine I had taken, but I was compelled to surrender. I could not stand alone nor take a single step, and would instantly fall asleep unless violently shaken. I urged Lieutenant Maxwell and Mr. Wheelock to leave me and try to save themselves, as they were too much exhausted to have any possible chance of getting me to the timber. The night was cold and we had not even a blanket for protection and I could see no hope for myself. In my dazed condition I distinctly remember thinking that my time had come. But Lieutenant Maxwell and R. U. Wheelock were made of material that would never permit a companion when helpless to cross the dark river alone, and they would consent to nothing of the kind. To

²¹*Ibid.*, Vol. III, "pp. 482-483.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 483.

their manly, courageous and self-sacrificing spirit I undoubtedly owe my life.

Lieutenant Maxwell started to walk, but too much exhausted he lay down on the crust of that cruel snow and rolled over and over that two miles, to a cabin in the grove, suffering injuries from which he never fully recovered. Wheelock kept himself from freezing by his violent efforts to keep me awake, refusing to leave me for a moment and faithfully staying by me for hours until help came. At the cabin Maxwell found the old pioneer, Jeremiah Evans, and William Church, and these two men followed back the tracks he had made to where Wheelock had remained with me, busily engaged in keeping me from that sleep that knows no waking.

By almost superhuman efforts these two brave men dragged me to the cabin, and my faithful protector, Wheelock, walking, falling and plunging along, sometimes lying down and rolling on the crust of the snow, succeeded in making the cabin about the same time, late in the night.

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Here several men became faint-hearted from exhaustion and suffering, to which most of them were unaccustomed, and refused to continue the march.

One brave man whose courage had been tested in the Mexican War and who was the third soldier to enter the Mexican fort when Cherubusco was stormed, declared that it was suicidal to continue the march, that it would result in the destruction of the entire command, and refused to go farther.

But this was not the spirit of the officers and of nearly all of the men. They had started to rescue the survivors of the Spirit Lake settlement, if any were left, to bury the dead, and if possible to overtake the Indians, and nothing but absolute impossibility could induce them to give up their purpose.²³

Near Estherville, directly east of the Okobojis, the members of the Expedition encountered by happy chance the refugees from Springfield, Minnesota, Mrs. William L. Church, her sister, Miss Drusilla Swanger, and Messrs. Thomas and Carver, the latter two each seriously wounded. They had begun to notice Indian signs and Major Williams issued strict orders for the scouts and outflankers to refrain from all use of firearms, save of course in case of an attack. It was assumed by him and the

²³Address on "The Spirit Lake Relief Expedition of 1857" in *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association*, 1898, pp. 43-44 (reprinted in *ANNALS op. cit.*, p. 498-99). Captain Duncombe had another recollection that he never could forget of the devotion of the men of his company to his personal welfare. After his recital of the frightful experiences at Cylinder Creek he records:

"Thomas Callighan, a powerful big-hearted Irishman of my company, whenever we reached a stream, would throw me over his shoulder as easily as if I had been a child, and carry me over in spite of my protests against his doing so." *Ibid.*, p. 46.

entire command that the Indians would naturally be in pursuit of the refugees. The scouts were about four miles in advance. Captain Duncombe was midway between them and the main column. Suddenly he heard firing. Supposing that Indians were the cause he dashed forward on his horse to take his part in the fray, but imagine his astonishment to discover that the shooting was at beavers instead of Indians, the men seeing fresh meat, and forgetting the Major's stern orders. Knowing the anxiety that would prevail with the main body Captain Duncombe immediately went back to report. What happened I let him tell:

Major Williams gave me a severe reprimand for needlessly exposing my life. If this reprimand could have been taken by a phonograph, and the picture of the scene with a kodak, it would have been more amusing than I thought it was at the time. Some things he said to me seemed comical. He was at the boiling point with rage, and those who ever knew him will understand what that implies. I remember, after saying a few severe things to me in a loud, angry tone of voice, he demanded, "Did you expect to whip all the damned Indians yourself?" I received my reprimand in silence and two years after took my revenge by marrying his daughter.²⁴

All accounts concur in stating that Major Williams was a real commander in the true military sense, martinet in his exactions and insistence upon the observance of the rules that make for discipline and the best interests of the whole command, which is the sum and substance of all true discipline.

Pushing his command forward by forced marches Major Williams reached the state line on Wednesday, April 1, and some place between the Granger cabin located near the Des Moines River, and Springfield he learned from a national trooper that five days previous the Indians had fled, having learned of the near presence of Captain Bee's troopers, that Captain Bee had not pursued them, Inkpaduta's band, any distance, and that he had not come down any farther than to the Marble cabin on the west side of Spirit Lake, buried Mr. Marble, and then had returned to Fort Ridgely.

The information threw Major Williams and his men into no little confusion. Major Williams had two definite objectives in view—the first was the rescue of the survivors, if any there might be, if perchance he could arrive in time; and second, to pursue the Indians and give them a lesson that would abolish

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 44.

the menace of future attacks. The exhaustion of the men by their forced marching in the face of such adverse conditions, the exhaustion of their commissariat, and the ill prospects thereof, and the word that the settlers between the Okobojis had been completely wiped out constrained their decision to return. Their action was taken with some sharp criticism of the conduct of the forces under Captain Bee, concerning which more later.

As he had learned that Captain Bee had made no effort to go to the lower settlement Major Williams realized that the murdered settlers should be given a decent burial. He called for volunteers and on April 2 he detailed twenty-three men, twelve from Company A, five each from B and C, under Captain J. C. Johnson and Lieutenant J. N. Maxwell "to proceed twelve miles to the lake and reconnoiter that district, and if no Indians were discovered, to inter the dead as an act of humanity."²⁵ The other two companies were to begin the return march and to await Company C at the Irish settlement on Medium Lake.

The volunteers for that "Burial Detail," as one historian has designated it,²⁶ displayed again in superb fashion the stern stuff out of which heroes and true patriots is compounded. They stepped forward, willing, when death from exhaustion, freezing, or simple starvation, dogged their waking hours, to plunge further into the Dread Unknown, to face death either at the hands of ruthless skulking foes who would show no mercy, or slow death from battling with the merciless elements then at their worst behavior, their proffered service tendered primarily for the simple purpose of giving their murdered countrymen, strangers almost all to them, the last honored rites of earth. They did not have the coercive intimate concern of the Grecian maid, Antigone, for her brother, denied such rites by the state's stern decree. Nor were they constrained, by what Masfield expresses in some telling lines:

Loathing Terror,
To leave the dead,
So alone, so wretched.

The hearts and minds of those volunteers were constrained, we may presume, rather by a fine humanity—concern for the feelings and memories of the families, relatives and friends of the

²⁵Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

²⁶Teakle, *op. cit.*, Chap. XXIV, pp. 192-205.

stricken victims, lying prone and stark in the snow next the shores of the Okobojis. If such services for one's fellows was not Idealism incarnate, what better does the records of the World's saints and heroes contain for us?

V

The vicissitudes of the members of the Relief Expedition were frightful on their march up the valley of the Des Moines River, which they had to cross and recross nearly twenty times; but their experiences on their return from the lake region were awful, and we may well marvel that any of them survived. It may be futile to try to determine whether the companies under Major Williams suffered greater and more harrowing experiences than did the company under Captain Johnson on their return march down the valley, for each endured about all that the stoutest souls could possibly encounter and bear up under. But a summary, or rather a few illustrative incidents should not be forgotten for they are luminous of what our common citizenry can do in the storm and stress that anon try men's souls.

The sufferings of the men on the return march were in many respects more painful than they endured in the outset. They had first faced cold winds and bucked snow in the main steadily; but on their return home they pushed forward between mists, rain, and melting snows and then plunged into a horrible blizzard with the temperature sixty degrees below freezing point. The members of each division suffered more acutely because of the condition of their footwear. By the return march their boots or shoes were either so worn as to be next to worthless, or marching through the melting snows, fording creeks, sloughs, and streams, they had shrunk so that they pinched the feet so painfully that the men either slit them so that the toes or foot was exposed, or if they took them off at night they could not put them on again when they resumed their march in the morning. Several men had to encase their feet and legs in strips of blanket.

The separated companies were to rendezvous at the Irish colony, now Emmetsburg, the county seat of Palo Alto County. The weather, as they separated, was mild and pleasant. Major Williams' companies reached the Irish colony but did not tarry long because the settlement was short of food and so large a proportion of the Expedition's supplies had been given the Burial

Detail or the Spirit Lake detachment that it was decided to proceed onward toward Fort Dodge. The next day began with warm winds and clouds, and rains were soon pouring down in a steady stream. As they approached Cylinder Creek the men found themselves wading through one, two, and three feet of water and that, too, when the creek was distant more than a quarter of a mile. The column reached the crossing point about two o'clock in the afternoon. It was impossible for them to ford it. About the same time the winds suddenly changed. The mercury began to go down rapidly. Soon the men were in the midst of a terrific blizzard. The situation was critical in the extreme. They could not go back; and the half mile of surging waters in front of them seemed almost impassable.

At this juncture Captains Richards and Duncombe demonstrated the fine fibre and the stern stuff of which their characters were made. Instead of ordering their men to undergo the discomforts and dangers in determining whether a safe passage was feasible, risking health and limb and facing imminent death, they stood forth and with two sturdy companions, Solon Mason and Guernsey Smith, made a daring effort to effectuate the crossing of the two companies. A wagon box was converted into a makeshift boat. With the captains bailing and steering, and the assistants pushing, they slowly made progress against the roaring current, only to have the improvised boat sink just as they reached the thither side of Cylinder Creek, making futile their heartbreaking efforts to insure a safe passage for their men.

They made their way to Shippey's Point two to three miles distant, which they reached about nine o'clock, where they were fed and got themselves dry in the course of the night's long vigil. The next day they tried twice to effect their major purpose, returning to the creek, first in the morning and again in the afternoon—but they could not discover the camp of the men amidst the whirling snows. One of their associates, Solon Mason, collapsed from exhaustion and had to be carried back to the Shippey cabin. Meantime two other members of the command, Harris Hoover and A. K. Tullis, by a long circuitous journey had forded the Cylinder and come down the west side and joined them Saturday night, April 4. A few excerpts from Mr. Hoover's diary or journal will indicate their anxiety and their efforts for their companions across the Cylinder:

Sunday morning, April 5. We returned to the creek to look for our companions, but as there were no signs of life, the conviction was forced upon us that our fears were realized, and that they were all frozen to death. The stream was by this time frozen over except the channel, about fifty feet wide, in which the ice was partially formed, but not sufficiently solid to walk upon. The captains deserve praise for their noble efforts in behalf of their men. They worked for two hours in the severe cold, attempting to crawl over the ice to reach the opposite shore, but notwithstanding their warm hearts the intense cold overcame them and they were obliged to abandon the attempt. Returning to the Shippey cabin another night of horrible suspense was passed. Comparatively comfortable as we were, the condition of our comrades haunted us like a grim spectre. We could not imagine how it was possible for them to survive the horrors of such another night, while our utter inability to relieve them added poignancy to our grief.

Monday, April 6. We again proceeded to Cylinder Creek *and found the ice strong enough to carry a horse*. Crossing over we were overjoyed to find all our companions alive. They were piled up like so many flour bags in the most approved style, under a frail tent, constructed of a wagon cover, partially banked up with snow which served to check the fierce wind and saved them from freezing to death. Now they crossed the creek on the ice (the formation of which they had patiently waited), after lying in this position *over forty hours, without food or fire, on the open prairie, with the mercury at 32° below zero.*²⁷

VI

The experiences of the Burial Detail in several respects were more harrowing than those endured by Major Williams' immediate command. The sights they came upon on the shores of the Okobojis—the wanton destruction of property, the hideous butchery and mutilation of women and children—left horrible memories. After giving the bodies of the thirty or more victims a hurried burial they hastened their departure for their homes, eighty miles or more to the southeast, leaving on the morning of April 4. A difference of opinion, albeit a friendly one, as to the better course to take led to the separation of two of the company from the main body, with fatal results to Captain Johnson and Wm. E. Burkholder who, while not very far from their company, got blinded, benumbed, their feet frozen, they sank in the snow, and eleven years afterwards their mortal remains were found. The experiences of the men under Lieutenant Maxwell approached the utmost limits of human endurance. His account contains many passages that enthrall the imagination:

²⁷*The Hamilton Freeman*, August 27, 1857—reprinted with slight changes in *ANNALS OF IOWA*, Third Series, Vol. V, p. 24.

In the forenoon it was quite warm, melting the snow. . . . We were obliged to wade sloughs waist deep, or go miles around. . . . We were wet to the shoulders, and while in this fearful condition the wind changed. About four o'clock a blizzard was fairly upon us. In a short time our clothes were frozen stiff. Many of us cut holes in our boots to let the water out, and several pulled their boots off and were unable to get them on again. . . . Those who happened to be with Laughlin and myself stopped on a piece of dry ground . . . determined to remain near it all night. . . . We marched back and forth all night long. When a comrade would fall others would help him to his feet, encourage and force him to keep moving as the only hope, for no living being could survive an hour in such a storm without hard exercise.²⁸

The sufferings of many of the men under the immediate guidance of Second Lieutenant Frank R. Mason of Company C of Webster City, got within the dark shadows of death. His recollections give us a vivid picture of the acute mental and physical distress of the sufferers. Several men became mentally deranged because of their physical exhaustion from cold and lack of proper food. They had to be safeguarded against themselves, carried by their companions, and cared for as if they were sick children. Lieutenant Mason was with the men held for two days on the Cylinder Creek by the blizzard. When the sun gave them clear skies and hope on the morning of Monday, April 6, Lieutenant Mason and M. W. Howland determined to see if a crossing was feasible.

We staggered to our frozen feet and arm in arm hobbled towards the stream. All eyes were upon us as we went out upon the ice. We began to feel encouraged but when we neared the center of the creek we found a space of open water, about thirty feet wide and very deep. We had resolved, however, never to return to that camp again, and looking up the stream we saw a clump of willows and went up to them. Here we found that ice had floated down, lodged against the willows and frozen there, thus forming a complete bridge. After passing the channel we signaled back, when a truly joyous shout went up from those poor half insane boys. I will here state that there was not a man among our number—about 80—who had strength enough to reach the opposite shore. . . . the trouble seemed to be weakness and shortness of breath. Every man's mouth was wide open, his tongue hanging out, and in some instances blood running from nose or mouth. Shippey's cabin . . . was two and a half miles southeast of the creek. . . . Major Williams met us with great tears streaming down his furrowed cheeks. . . .

. . . It was decided to disband, separate into small squads, and strike out for the nearest settlement. . . . I was detailed to pilot our Webster

²⁸ANNALS OF IOWA, Third Series, Vol. III, p. 530.

City men across the prairie to that point about eighteen miles from us. . . . Immediately after starting, our friend Hathway took the back track. When we were about half a mile from him I went back to where he stood and putting my hand upon his shoulder urged him to come with us, but his eyes fairly flashed fire as he resolutely refused. I signaled for help and John Gates came to my assistance—a tower of strength and manliness, a man who never flinched from the performance of duty. We approached Hathway, the fire had disappeared from his eyes, and he fell into our willing arms nearly helpless. John and I carried him almost every rod of the way by taking turns. Occasionally he would arouse from his stupor, at such times we would cross our hands together, forming a seat for him, but when he was too weak to sit erect we would take him in our arms or on our backs.²⁹

Lieutenant Mason then relates his tactics in creating delusions among his companions as to the distance or nearness of some timber towards which they were heading, wherein or nearby he said was a cabin, in his efforts to renew their courage and energize their hopes, and the bitter denunciation to which he was for a time subjected when they finally reached the timber and no cabin was within sight. In utter exhaustion and despair about 11 o'clock at night the men lay down for what would have been their last long sleep but for a happy strange turn of Fate. They had been slumbering for nearly an hour when Lieutenant Mason heard a woman's voice—he thought he was dreaming at first—but a clear, bell-like voice brought him suddenly to a keen consciousness that an angel was speaking out of the darkness to him and help was at hand, and the cabin he had told his companions about but could not find, was actually nearby on the north. As soon as he could get his dazed faculties together he inquired if food and shelter could be given two of the men who had given out two hours before, Messrs. Hathway and Gates, and the reply came back in the Quaker phrasing: "We will do what we can for thee," and in their dire need Mr. and Mrs. Collins proved to be Friends.³⁰ Thirty years after Mrs. Sarah W. Collins gave the public her recollections of her experiences that cold night:

. . . I have many times thought over the events of that night and told them to my children; how husband and I, after having stayed later than usual at a neighbor's, started for home, he with our first babe in his arms, and kept along the beaten path in the snow. All at

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 535-536.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 536.

once the outline of dark objects appeared before us. They were not moving and we heard no noise. I at first thought we might be upon a company of Indians! We were too near to retreat, and true to our inclinations we stepped forward to meet what might be danger and trouble. I then heard groans of distress and I thought sobs. All fear was gone in a moment, and I hastened to know who could be at that time of night in so deplorable a condition. We had a lantern, and as the light shone upon the place my pity was truly stirred. There, with the snow crushed beneath them, were eight men; some sitting, some reclining, and others lying flat upon their backs! I need not say how gladly we ministered to their wants. . . . We count it all joy that we were enabled to take part (though a humble one) in that heroic task. I think your memory served you well, friend Mason, as to the "bill of fare" set before you on the night and morning in question. I remember the biscuits well. . . . they were so poor, and there was no extra grease for shortening. But I have no doubt my biscuits beat the mush you made with flour and water, if you did boil it for two long hours. Our flour and molasses ought to have been good as they were hauled all the way from Muscatine [180 miles as the crow flies] by an ox-team the fall previous, and flour was selling that spring for from eleven to fourteen dollars per barrel.³¹

The dramatic and the heroic in life are usually closely associated with its minutia and the prosaic. Lieutenant Mason and his associates probably thought more of those biscuits and the cheer of the Collins home than they did of the heroic character of their amazing experiences of the previous three weeks.

Major Williams' concern for the fate of the Burial Detail was such that despite his age he went back from Cylinder Creek to the Irish settlement to learn of their fate and to aid in their march, if in dire need. Happily all of the scattered groups were within short ranges of their homes. Lieutenant Mason and his hard pressed companions reached Webster City on April 8 and 9; and Major Williams and his contingent got to Fort Dodge on April 10 and 11. On Sunday, April 12, Major Williams sent off his official report to Governor Grimes of the organization and efforts and experiences of the Relief Expedition. Among other items which he mentioned were: "We have fourteen men badly frozen, and two lost, Captain Johnson of Webster City and Mr. Burkholder of this place, both frozen to death in a snowstorm. . . . So severe was the weather that . . . three or four of them had lost their minds, and knew no one."

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 549.

VII

We do not have a correct or complete appreciation of the Relief Expedition if we record merely the acts of courage and daring of its members, or the fine examples of self-sacrifice for their stricken or endangered companions. They had some experiences which gave them a close-up view of the pathetic, the petty and the sordid.

On the morning of their fifth day out, April 28, Saturday, eight men faint-hearted from exhaustion and suffering, decided to return to their homes. It is interesting that in all of the published personal recollections of the expedition that have come under my eye, each and all refrain from mentioning their names. Mr. Hoover, however, dips his pen in some acidulated ink as he reflected upon their conduct.³²

When Major Williams' command reached the state line, two lone settlers who lived within the danger zone gave them a very frosty reception, refusing them common consideration that lacked ordinary humanity, let alone common prudence. Captain Richards, thirty years afterward, refers to the incident in sharp terms and records the name of the major one, saying that they exhibited "the most inhospitable spirit of any pioneers it has ever been my fortune to meet."³³

At the Irish colony on their return the settlers refused to allow the company under Captain Richards to have a beef animal, although the men of the two companies had not had a substantial meal for ten days. The settlers refused even when the officers and men offered to pay, and to give their joint obligation that payment would be made, and with pitchforks and guns in battle array they stood ready to prevent appropriation of the animal. But Captain Richards nevertheless ordered Lieutenant Stratton with a squad of men to commandeer the steer; and the embattled settlers retired without bloodshed and the famished men had their first feast.³⁴

Lieutenant Mason tells with bitter cynical comment that after crawling on their hands and knees for nearly two miles they reached a house at 10 o'clock at night; they were given lodging and fed and charged therefor and the next morning the owner of

³²*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 18.

³³*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 514.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 517.

the place hauled the eight men twelve miles to Webster City and demanded \$14.50 for doing so. The contrast between the treatment received at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Collins and at the last produced so much heat in the local atmosphere that the man and his family who charged the stricken soldiers so exactingly for his aid soon concluded it best "to leave the country."³⁵

The essentials and the premises of life's real dramas, our literary folks inform us, are found in contrasts. We appreciate light against darkness, mountain peaks by the valleys, the fine and generous when they stand forth among the penurious and petty.

VIII

It is not easy to appraise events as to their relative importance or significance when we are either immediately a part thereof or when we stand apart and view them from a distance in space or time. Events, like things, are major or minor according to circumstances. If they relate to our community or commonwealth we are prone to overemphasize in appraisal of importance. Comparisons of the vasty sort are more or less futile. But there is an appreciable difference between a gentle breeze and a roaring cyclone. The Indian Massacre between the Okobojis on March 8-9, 1857, has a rare distinction and the Relief Expedition was notable and its story should hold the attention of Iowa's sons and daughters who care aught for their commonwealth and have any pride in the character of their pioneers. Two distinguished citizens of Fort Dodge, and both members of Major Williams' command, have recorded their mature judgments and they may appropriately become the common opinion.

Captain John F. Duncombe became one of the foremost of Iowa's public men. He was an attorney of distinction and had he not become allied with the Democratic party in pre-Civil War days with which he ever affiliated, he would have risen fast and high in public preference in this state. He was a cool, searching critic of men and measures. He never indulged in gush, nor tawdry flag waving. Addressing the Pioneer Lawmakers in Des Moines in February, 1898, he said concerning the Spirit Lake Expedition and its sufferings:

"No trained veterans, thoroughly equipped and armed, ever did duty more willingly, more cheerfully, or more faithfully.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 537.

"Few of the men were accustomed to hardships. None of them were fully prepared for what they had to endure. Not a man shirked his duty.

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"I have doubts whether any body of men for the same length of time, on any march, ever suffered greater hardships, more constant exposure, more severe bodily labor, than those who composed the Spirit Lake Expedition."³⁶

Another solid judgment is given us by Cyrus C. Carpenter. He left the Union Army with the rank of colonel; he served Iowa for four years as governor (1869-1873); later as one of her first railroad commissioners, and finally as a member of Congress for two terms (1879-1883). Addressing his comrades of the Relief Expedition, thirty years afterwards, on August 12, 1887, at the unveiling of the memorial tablet to their members of Company C in the County House at Webster City, Governor Carpenter said:

Since that experience on Cylinder Creek, I have marched with armies engaged in actual war. During three and a half years' service, the army with which I was connected, marched from Cairo to Chattanooga, from Chattanooga to Atlanta, from Atlanta to the Sea, and from the Sea through the Carolinas to Richmond. These campaigns were made under southern suns and in the cold rains and not infrequent snow storms of southern winters. The marches were sometimes continued without intermission three or four days and nights in succession, with only an occasional halt to give the weary, foot-sore soldier a chance to boil a cup of coffee. But I never in those weary years experienced a conflict with the elements that could be compared with the two nights and one day on Cylinder Creek.³⁷

The youth of Greece were not allowed to grow up without becoming familiar with Xenophon's *Anabasis*—the great classic relating the grilling experiences and sufferings of the celebrated Ten Thousand Greek soldiers, suddenly caught amidst adverse Fates in their famous retreat from the lower Euphrates to the Euxine, thence to the Bosphorus, and thence to their homeland in Attica. In all the centuries since Xenophon's enthralling narrative has inspired the students in the colleges and universities of all nations in Europe and the United States wherein the "humanities" controlled curricula. Therein they read of perfect

³⁶*Proc. Pioneer Lawmakers Associ.*, 1898, pp. 43, 46.

³⁷ANNALS, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 487.

discipline, of superb leadership, of implicit trust of the rank and file in their chief, of constant concern of the chief for the welfare of his men, of a wonderful concurrence of minds and effort in a common cause in which "each for all and all for each" was achieved without friction or fuss, without ostentation or dramatics, and merit in men and dominance in leadership were perceived clearly, and frankly acclaimed spontaneously—when all men were democrats in deed and thought and instinctively followed the aristocrats of superior worth, and the monarch in merit was looked to as guide and friend and governor—all to one good end.

The youth of Iowa may well study the experiences of the members of the Spirit Lake Expedition, the characters and conduct of the rank and file in their daily routine, in their relations with their superiors, in their devotion to their humblest duties, in their trust in their officers and in the fine devotion of their officers to the best welfare of their men. If such earnest patriotism can become the inspiration and norm of the youth of the state, anxiety as to the future of the commonwealth will soon cease from troubling.

IX

Major Williams' report to Governor James W. Grimes, containing his official account of the organization and progress of the Relief Expedition, was dated April 12, 1857. It was penned in some haste, as he clearly appreciated.³⁸ Further, it is clear that some of its paragraphs were composed in a state of some embitterment. I refer to his adverse comments upon the course of Captain Barnard E. Bee, in command of Company D of the Tenth U. S. Infantry, that was ordered to the relief of the settlers at the Lakes by Colonel Alexander at Fort Ridgely. Captain Bee's troopers proceeded but little farther than Springfield. A small detail under Lieutenant Alexander Murray went as far as the Marble cabin on the west side of Spirit Lake—a mile or so below the state line—and then returned to their rendezvous at Springfield. From one of the troopers Major Williams learned further that pursuit of Inkpaduta's band had not proceeded farther than Heron Lake and Captain Bee and his troopers would return to Fort Ridgely. As already indicated

³⁸See concluding paragraph of Report, Sharp, *History of Spirit Lake Massacre*, 1898, p. 121.

what appeared strange non-action to the men of Major Williams' command, aroused considerable indignation and produced no little animadversion. This feeling was reflected in Major Williams' report to Governor Grimes.

He states that Inkpaduta's band was enabled to escape Captain Bee's troopers because two traders, Wood and Gaboo, at Springfield had warned the Indians of their approach. Major Williams asserts that had the company from Fort Ridgely not been sent out, his command could have caught the Indians.³⁹ We may doubt the probability of his succeeding, for Inkpaduta had twenty to thirty horses and Major Williams did not have more than eight or nine available. Inkpaduta was fairly well stocked with provisions, and the supplies of Major Williams' men were steadily lessening, and their marching strength was declining with equal pace.

Major Williams' adverse comments were so severe and sweeping that some excerpts from his report are given below in order that comparison and consideration of their justice may be clearly dealt with:

The conduct of the troops from Fort Ridgely is hard to be accounted for. On Thursday, the 26th of March, the Indians attacked Springfield and neighborhood. The citizens defended themselves as well as they could. . . . On Friday, in the afternoon, the troops from Fort Ridgely arrived, all well mounted on mules. Those troops lay at Springfield all day Saturday. . . . Their officers counseled with the half-breed, Gaboo, . . . whose squaw . . . was at the time wearing the shawl of Mrs. Church, with other articles taken from the citizens. Said officers lay over from Friday evening till Sunday morning without pursuing or making any effort to overtake the Indians. . . .

On Sunday morning he, the commanding officer, set out on their trail, and followed them half the day, finding their camp fires, overtaking three or four straggling squaws, let them go. . . . When he could not have been over half a day's march from them he stopped and returned the same evening (Sunday) to Springfield. When he ordered the men to return, they expressed a wish to follow on, and said that they would put up with half rations if he would allow it. His reply was that he had no orders to follow them.

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It is certain such troops, or rather such officers, will afford no protection to our troubled frontier settlers. Think of his conduct! his men, all well mounted, turning back when he was not a half day's march off

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 116.

them [Indians]; they loaded down with plunder, and horses and mules, and carrying off with them four respectable women as prisoners. The Indians were known to have twenty-five or thirty head of horses, and eight or ten mules, taken from the settlers.⁴⁰

In a public letter, dated April 18, written for his neighbors and the friends of the members of the Relief Expedition in Fort Dodge and Webster County, published in the *Sentinel*, giving in much more personal detail than in his official report to the Governor, Major Williams again dwelt upon what he deemed the sorry delinquency of Captain Bee. The matter had waxed greatly as he thought of the work of the expedition and he urged that it was so serious that a court of inquiry should be ordered by the national authorities to make a thorough investigation as to the facts and report as to the facts and those in default. He said: ". . . his attempt at pursuit and failure to prosecute his march, subjects his conduct to the severest censure, the more so especially when it is alleged his troops were anxious for the pursuit."⁴¹

Knowing, as we now do, the heroic efforts of Major Williams' command and the horrible sufferings of his men we can understand his harsh reflections upon the reported conduct of Captain Bee. He penned his report before the frost was out of his fingers and he still heard the cries and moans of the stricken men of his companies. Justice, however, calls for a more charitable conclusion. Captain Bee, while possibly subject to some adverse comment, did not act heedlessly or indifferently.

All the records extant are to the effect that Major Williams depended chiefly, if not wholly, upon the report of the solitary trooper his command met at the state line. He did not continue to Springfield and canvass the situation with Captain Bee or any of his lieutenants. He had to depend either on the hasty, partial statements of that trooper or on vagrant rumors. The trooper could not have known anything about the causes for the non-pursuit of Inkpaduta after Sunday, March 29, and we may suspect that the alleged astonishment of the men at Captain Bee's order to retreat, or return to Springfield, and their alleged offer to continue in pursuit on "half rations" were the products of fertile rumor or hasty inferences from the resentment of the

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

⁴¹*Fort Dodge Sentinel*, April 23, 1857.

men of the Iowa contingent. Further, we may doubt whether in the national army the men of the rank and file were then given to telling their superior officers—West Pointers—what their duty was in directing the movements of the troop.

On the surface of things one fact seems strange. Captain Bee sent a detail to the Lakes to reconnoiter and it proceeded no farther than the west mid-shore of Spirit Lake, and discovered the Marble cabin and the wreckage perpetrated by the Indians. When Captain Bee reached Springfield he secured sufficient proof of the truth of the report Morris Markham had brought from the Okobojis, for the first day his men helped to bury the dead in the vicinity of Springfield. It seems strange that he did not give Lieutenant Murray whom he sent to the Lakes orders to proceed to the Okobojis to discover any possible survivors. Markham had actually seen the destruction and desolation in the Gardner and Howe cabins and saw the Indians sitting in war council among their tepees near the causeway this side the Mattock cabin and his report had started the relief column from Fort Ridgely. He must have given descriptions of the wholesale character of the Massacre between the Okobojis—and the turning back from the Marble cabin is inexplicable on ordinary grounds, if Lieutenant Murray had been fully advised of Markham's report.

Captain Bee, however, was not quite so indifferent or so inert as Major Williams believed. His official report to his superiors gives substantial reasons for a more charitable judgment respecting his course. His report was penned April 9—three days before Major Williams' was dated. Therein we learn that when his company reached Springfield it had made a march of 140 miles under the grilling conditions already cited, and the men were "jaded and foot-sore." Further, he was "destitute of provisions" for an extended pursuit of Inkpaduta. Major Williams asserts in effect that the national troopers were mounted on mules. His belief appears contrary to fact for Captain Bee states: "I had no saddles for my mules and that only thirteen of that number could be ridden—all these things induced me to return, mortified and disappointed to my camp." He then adds, "On the morning following my march to Heron Lake I despatched Lieutenant Murray with a command to Spirit Lake to scout for Indians, gather the facts, and bury the dead, should

any such be found, while I took the party down the settlements with similar objects in view."⁴²

It seems to me that Major Williams would have revised his opinion had he known all of the facts just set forth, at least he would have conceded that Captain Bee was not free to do as he would have liked to do in face of the circumstances. With provisions seriously and steadily lessening, and 140 miles from his base of supplies, it would have been foolhardy for him to have plunged forward in pursuit of the wily Inkpaduta. Further, it is obvious that he was chagrined at his non-success in capturing Inkpaduta. Finally, so far as his orders went he expected Lieutenant Murray to circle the Okobojs and bury the massacred settlers. Why they were not carried out must remain probably inexplicable.

The intervening years have brought out sundry other facts in mitigation of Major Williams' adverse report. His severe comments upon Captain Bee struck full in the face another notable associate of the Captain of the Tenth U. S. Infantry, namely Charles E. Flandrau, agent for the Sioux, who accompanied Captain Bee and his troopers from Fort Ridgely on their grilling march to Springfield, who a short time afterwards was appointed judge of Minnesota's Territorial Court. Continuing on the State Supreme Court until 1864, the harsh criticisms that were current in Iowa for years not only hit but burnt him. With a manly generous concern for his companion, Captain Bee, Judge Flandrau in a notable address before the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul December 8, 1879, entitled "The Inkpaduta Massacre of 1857" set forth some of the facts not known prior thereto outside a small circle. Some of the important disclosures are presented in the following paragraphs:

The country between the Minnesota River at Ridgely and Spirit Lake was, at that day, an utter wilderness without an inhabitant. In fact none of us knew where Spirit Lake was except that it lay about due south of the fort, at a distance of from 100 to 125 miles. . . .

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We started on March 19th at about 1 o'clock, at first intending to go directly across the country; but we soon decided that course to be utterly impossible as the mules could not draw the wagon through the deep snow. It became apparent that our only hope of reaching the lake

⁴²Capt. Bee to Lt. Maynardier, *op. cit.*, Footnote No. 181.

was to follow the road down by the way of New Ulm to Mankato, and trust to look for a road up the Watonwan in the direction of the lake. . . . The first days of the march was appalling. The men were wet nearly up to their waist with the deep and melting snow, and utterly weary before they had gone ten miles. Captain Bee was a South Carolinian and though a veteran had seen most of his service in Mexico and the South. Mr. Murray, his lieutenant, was a gallant young fellow, but had not seen much service. Neither of them had ever made a snow camp before; and when we had dug out a place for our first camp, and were making futile efforts to dry our clothes before turning in for the night I felt that the trip was hopeless. So much time had elapsed since the murders were committed, and so much more would be necessarily consumed before the troops could possibly reach the lake, that I felt assured that no good could result from going on. So I told Captain Bee that if he wanted to return I would furnish him with a written opinion of two of the most experienced voyageurs on the frontier that the march was impossible of accomplishment with the inappropriate outfit with which the troops were furnished. It was then that the stern sense of duty which animates the true soldier exhibited itself in these soldiers. The captain agreed with me that the chances of accomplishing any good by going on were very small, but he read his orders, and said, in answer to my suggestion, "My orders are to go to Spirit Lake and do what I can. It is not for me to interpret my orders, but to obey them. I shall go on until it becomes physically impossible to proceed further. It will then be time to turn back"; and go on he did. We followed the trail up the Watonwan until we found the teams that had made it stuck in a snow drift, and for the remaining forty or fifty miles the troops marched ahead of the mules, and broke the road for them, relieving the front rank every fifteen or twenty minutes. . . .

When the lake was reached the Indians were gone. A careful examination was made of their camp and fires by the guides who pronounced them three or four days old. Their trail led to the west. A pursuit was made by a portion of the command, partly mounted on mules, and partly on foot; but it was soon abandoned on the declaration of the guides that the Indians were, by the signs, several days in advance. The dead were buried, a guard was established under Lieutenant Murray with twenty-four men, and Captain Bee with the balance returned to the Fort.⁴³

At first glance it appears that the demonstration of Captain Bee's troopers was not equal to the tremendous push of Major Williams' command. But close comparison hardly justifies adverse findings. Captain Bee's men had pushed or pulled their mules and supplies, and themselves and wagons, going and returning, more than 300 miles. Major Williams' three companies

⁴³*Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. III, pp. 390-92.*

marched between 160 and 180 miles. Captain Bee's advanced with the wind and fought it returning; and Major Williams bucked snow and wind going and drifted with it returning, when they suffered more acutely, probably, than the national troopers. Captain Bee's reasons for returning from Heron Lake without further attempt to capture Inkpaduta were precisely the same as those which controlled Major Williams—the exhaustion of the men, the steadily shrinking supplies, and the obvious futility of pursuit of Inkpaduta against such adverse weather and traveling conditions, and the wily Sioux many miles and many days ahead in their flight through a country with which they were familiar, and a trackless wilderness to his pursuers. Agent Flandrau's advice to Captain Bee confirmed years later by the Judge's cooler judgment of later years would have been the finding of a court of inquiry had it been ordered.

Among the distinguished guests present at the dedication of the Spirit Lake Monument erected by the state of Iowa in front of the Gardner cabin on July 23, 1895, was Judge Charles E. Flandrau. In his address, which was the chief event of the occasion, Judge Flandrau took notice of the public criticisms of Captain Bee's course. He informed the public that neither the civil nor the military authorities were indifferent about the pursuit of Inkpaduta; but they realized that an aggressive pursuit would have endangered the lives of the four women held captive by him. Mrs. Marble when returned told him that she and Abbie Gardner would have been killed had the soldiers come within shooting range of the Indians.⁴⁴ Another fact materially altered the face of things he mentioned:

It has been often asked why the government never did anything to punish these marauding savages. The answer is plain. Colonel Alexander and myself had a well matured plan to attack Inkpaduta the instant we learned of the fate of the captive women. We had five companies of the Tenth Infantry at our disposal, and could easily have destroyed his entire band; but unfortunately, just before we were ready to move on the enemy, the whole regiment was ordered to Fort Bridger, in Utah, to aid General Albert Sidney Johnson's command in the suppression of the anticipated Mormon outbreak, and before any available troops came to our frontier to replace them, Inkpaduta and his people had passed out of recollection.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁴⁵Smith, *History of Dickinson County*, p. 578.

Judge Flandrau's testimony and generous defense of Captain Bee compels, it seems to me, a reversal of the harsh judgment of Iowa's pioneers upon his conduct of his expedition to the relief of the victims of Inkpaduta's attack upon the settlement between the Okobojis. Major Williams' severe arraignment, while perfectly natural, was not well founded. Captain Bee's character and career create no adverse presumption. He was a veteran of the Mexican War. He will always have a conspicuous place in the annals of the Civil War between the states. He was made a brigadier general at the outset of that war by Jefferson Davis. In the First Battle of Manassas his First Brigade was being beaten back by the Federals. Riding among them striving to get them to resist he pointed back to General Thomas Jackson's five regiments holding a hill in full view and cried out: "Look! There is Jackson standing like a stone wall. Rally behind the Virginians." General Bee's words became a rallying cry; General Jackson henceforth had his famous sobriquet by which the world now knows him; and the impending defeat was turned into a victory. General Bee lost his life at the head of his troops in the famous First Battle of Bull Run.⁴⁶ Major Williams had no reason for doubting the courage and soldierly qualities of Captain Barnard E. Bee in his unsuccessful effort to capture Inkpaduta and his murderous band of outlaw Sioux. Nature, circumstances and humanity stood athwart his success.

(To be concluded.)

⁴⁶See H. A. White, *Stonewall Jackson* (American Crisis Biographies), pp. 87-88; T. J. Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of Thomas J. Jackson*, pp. 110-11, 122.

THE RICH LEAD MINES OF IOWA

Upwards of forty new lead mines have been opened in the mining regions upon the upper Mississippi during the last winter. The mineral lands of Iowa and Wisconsin are supposed to be more productive of this metal than the whole of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain.—*Iowa Morning Star*, Keokuk, Iowa Territory, April 24, 1845. (In the Newspaper Division of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.)

FIRST CHURCH AND FIRST SCHOOL IN LOWELL

BY CHARLES R. JACKMAN¹

THE FIRST CHURCH

More than ninety years ago when the first church was built in what is now Lowell, Henry County, Iowa, was still in its real pioneer stage. Indians were common, although there was quite a settlement in the vicinity. Its first settler was Hiram C. Smith who came here with his family on May 8, 1833. A grist and sawmill was early built and the place came to be known as Smith's Mills, being named after the first settler.

M. M. McCarver, who was one of the first settlers of Burlington, on November 13, 14, 16, and 17, 1840, surveyed and platted the place as a village and named it McCarverstown. Within a few days a committee of citizens bargained with him for a church site on the northeast corner of Clark and Third streets. Soon almost every man in the community, regardless of denomination or creed, was busy, some cutting logs, some with ox teams hauling them to the church lot, while others were hewing and shaping them for the building. And then came the raising, always a big day with the pioneers.

The church was quite a commodious building for a frontier church. The roof was of clapboards. There were two windows on each side, and a very large fireplace in the end of the building. The seats were made of plank with wooden pins for legs, but had no backs. For the first three or four years there was no floor. There had stood on the lot on which the building was erected a large oak tree, and as it would have required much work to remove this stump, it was cut down to the proper height and left for the desk in the pulpit. The door was of heavy plank with wooden hinges, and a latch and string.

The building was completed before the holidays, when there was a great rejoicing among the people. At last all of them had a place of worship, and especially the mothers and children had a place where they could meet and get acquainted with their

¹Martha G. Smith came to Iowa May, 1833, at the age of six years with her parents and three brothers. She was the first white girl in the settlement. In 1833 she married Clarkson Jackman. They are the parents of the writer of this article. They lived out their lives on the old homestead. The writer's home is only about 100 feet from the site of his grandfather's first cabin. The ownership of this tract of land has remained in the family.

neighbors, many of whom they had never met before. Friendships were formed that endured throughout their lives. The building was used by all denominations that wanted it.

These were really trying times. The people were poor in purse only. Their families were usually large and their homes mostly one room log cabins, with the barest of necessities. If they required more rooms, blankets or quilts were hung over poles or lines for partitions to make more rooms. But today we think of them only as "happy pioneers."

About the time the church was completed Edmund Archibald became the owner of the town site and he told the builders that he would make a deed for the property to the first church organization that asked for it if agreeable with the builders. He also petitioned the legislature to change the name from McCarvers-town to Lowell, after the name of Lowell, Massachusetts, his native state, which was granted in January, 1844.

We find of record the following: "Edmund Archibald, and Belinda Archibald, his wife, for the consideration of fifteen dollars convey lot 110 in the town of Lowell, Iowa, to James A. Stewart, John Mowery, Benjamin Ellison, Thomas Angel and George Wiggins, trustees of the Lowell Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America. G. E. Shelleday, Justice of the Peace. William Brown, Witness. Date, July 25, 1844."

As far as available the following are the names of the pastors of this church: Rev. Father Cole, Rev. I. I. Stewart, Rev. Thomas M. Kirkpatrick (one of seven brothers, of whom six were pioneer preachers in Illinois, Missouri and Iowa), Rev. Daniel G. Cartwright, and Rev. Mike See, who had a wonderful voice and was very successful in his religious work at camp meetings and revivals.

Preachers in those days went from fort to settlement, and from cabin to cabin, some on horseback, but usually on foot with hardly a path or trail to follow, and walked on dirt floors for carpets. About their only reward was their board and lodging and their love for their work.

The church was destroyed by a storm in 1855, and never rebuilt.

THE FIRST SCHOOL

For the purpose of encouraging education Congress in 1841 enacted a law providing that section sixteen in each and every township where possible in the new states should not be subject to homestead, but reserved for the support of the organized districts of the common schools. By this measure the government appropriated one thirty-sixth part of its land to aid the work of education in the new states. In Iowa this amounted to about 100,000 acres.

As early as 1840 Henry Johnson could be seen wending his way from cabin to cabin of the settlers, teaching the children in their homes. As they had no books he gave them lessons that he had written on paper to study, coming back the next day and so on, the parents paying him so much per scholar.

On May 7, 1849, the citizens of Lowell and vicinity held a meeting for the purpose of organizing a school district, and the following school officers were elected: J. B. Miller, president; William Brown, treasurer; and Peter F. Anderson, secretary. They were authorized to set aside thirty dollars to pay for a three-months school at ten dollars per month, or so much per scholar if thought best.

After the organization of the district there were several terms of school taught in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Wooden pins were driven into holes made in the logs of the building, and boards laid on them for those who required desks. This was in the days of quill pens and keel pencils.

As far as known, the following are the names of the teachers who taught in the church building: Henry Johnson, W. C. Wiggins and Cinthia Ann Williams. The church building was destroyed by a tornado in 1855. We find this of record: "On May 13th 1856, Edmund Archibald, and Belinda Archibald, his wife, for the consideration of Ten-dollars Convey to the Lowell School District Lot 104 in the town of Lowell, Iowa, Being near the North-east corner of Third and Jefferson Street. John Grubb, Justice of the peace, James W. Smith, witness." The board contracted with Joseph Brown for the building of a frame school-house of one room with seats for same. The building had four windows on each side, with a blackboard and rostrum both extending across the entire north end of the room. The seats were

very large and strong. The building had room for one hundred and fifty scholars. Prior to this time no taxes had ever been levied to support the school, and the teachers were paid from the apportionment fund received from the state.

I was told that the first teacher in the new house was Charles Scarlet, who was followed by W. C. Wiggins, James Piper, Sarah E. Shelleday, Jane Chandler, Mark Swan, and possibly others. My own personal knowledge began when I entered school with Hans Wily, as teacher, followed by Ruth Dean, Samuel Blayney, Isaac M. Grubb, Margaret Williams, Hester Barr, Emily Knickerbocker, James H. Hobbs, Julia Dillon and Angie Beery. Hester Barr made teaching her life work, and is the only one of the above teachers now living. These were all fine teachers who faithfully and impartially performed their duties, receiving for their services for the summer school of sixty to eighty scholars, twenty to twenty-five dollars per month, and for the winter term with one hundred to one hundred and fifty scholars, twenty-five to thirty dollars per month. Spelling, writing, reading and arithmetic, with a small class in geography at the winter term, were the branches taught. I do not remember of any algebra, latin or grammar classes. It was not unusual to see girls and boys almost of age in the A-B-C class. When time permitted the teacher would hear the older scholars separate from the younger. The old blue-back speller (Webster's Elementary Speller) was first used, but later Ray's Arithmetic and McGuffey's spellers and readers were adopted.

I believe Angie Beery taught the last school in the old house. It was abandoned for school purposes, and a new one built on the corner of Clark and Fourth streets, and later moved to its present location.

As there was no church built in Lowell after the destruction of the old log one in 1855, all denominations that wished used the old schoolhouse, but it was mostly used by the Methodist Protestants, as they were then largely in the majority. There were many pastors on this circuit, many of them unknown to this writer, but probably Rev. Father Newel, whose home was near Danville, Iowa, was best and mostly known. He lived to a very old age, and was a friend to everybody.

The Old Schoolhouse was the center of all activities of the

people of Lowell and vicinity. It was the scene of church, of Sunday school, of funerals, of school exhibitions, literary societies, and spelling contests, and magic lantern shows and others of that class. Public lectures and political meetings and elections were held in it. Governors, United States senators, congressmen, and many other able and prominent orators have spoken from the old rostrum, usually commending their own party and condemning their opponents, amid great applause from their audiences.

It was also the seat of justice, as the justice of the peace held court there on Saturdays when there was any business on the docket, and some of the ablest lawyers of the day made the old walls ring with their pleas for their clients.

A few years ago the property was sold to a private party and was torn down. So ends the story of the first schoolhouse and school in Lowell.

HOGS AT LARGE

It was necessary not long since to call attention of the city authorities to the fact that hogs running at large in violation of law have done a great deal of mischief about town. The excuse given for the large liberty they enjoyed was that the January flood had washed away the pens in which they were immured and that they were consequently emancipated porkers. But the flood has spent its fury and there is now no further apology for continuing to violate the law. If our officers have any regard for the performance of duty they will at once clear the town of all loose hogs.—*Daily State Register*, Des Moines, Iowa, May 2, 1862. (In the Newspaper Division of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.)

ANNALS OF IOWA

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

NOTABLE DEATHS

WILLIAM E. ALBERT was born on Washington Prairie, Allamakee County, Iowa, March 19, 1868, and died at Lansing June 25, 1932. Burial was in Oak Hill Cemetery, Lansing. His parents were George W. and Agnes (Gilbert) Albert. The family removed to Lansing during 1868 and there William E. grew up, attended public school and was graduated from Lansing High School. Soon thereafter he went to Keokuk, where he learned the watchmaking and jewelry trade. The several following years were spent by him perfecting himself in the jewelry and watchmaking arts, working in West Virginia, and in La Crosse, Wisconsin. He returned to Lansing and established himself there in business, which he followed until his public duties required his time. He served as a member of Lansing Town Council, and was for years a member of Lansing School Board. From boyhood he was interested in wild life and the forests, streams and lakes of his native region, and gradually became an ardent conservationist. He became connected with the State Fish and Game Department, being a deputy warden for his portion of the state from 1909 to 1914. From 1915 to 1919 he was superintendent of the Mississippi River District for that department. On April 11, 1919, Governor Harding appointed him state fish and game warden, and he was still serving in that position at the time of his death, having administered it longer than any of his predecessors. He was admirably qualified for the position and his personal qualities endeared him to the public.

PARLEY SHELTON was born near Cleveland, Ohio, June 7, 1844, and died in Ames, Iowa, May 22 1932. His parents were Parley and Elvira (Litch) Sheldon. He lived on his father's farm until the Civil War, when he enlisted in the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Ohio Volunteers. He was honorably discharged in August, 1865, returned home and gave his attention to the breeding of standard trotting stock. In 1874 he removed to Cedar County, Iowa, and in 1875 purchased and located on 330 acres of land adjoining and south of the then new town of Ames, where he engaged in breeding horses and feeding cattle and hogs and farming. In 1882 he became a resident of Ames and bought and shipped livestock. In 1890 he purchased the Story County Bank, which ran as a private bank until 1917, when it was reorganized as the Story County Trust and Savings Bank. In 1929 he retired from banking. One year after he became a resident of Ames, or in 1883, he was elected a member of the Town Council. In 1884 he was elected mayor, and although not serving continuously, he was mayor for eighteen years,

ending with April 3, 1916. In 1885 President Cleveland appointed him postmaster and he served until 1890, and was again postmaster from 1894 to 1898. From 1900 to 1908, and again later for many years, he was chairman of the Story County Democratic Central Committee. In 1902 he was the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Seventh District, being defeated by J. A. T. Hull. In 1904 he was the Democratic candidate for presidential elector in the Seventh District, and in 1910 was the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor. In 1912 he was a delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, as he was to the convention of 1920. He was a Seventh District delegate to the 1924 national convention of his party. He achieved noted success as a business man and became of great service to his community. The principal municipal improvements of Ames were secured under his administrations as mayor, or largely by his helpfulness. He was a leader in promoting highway building, in building and sustaining the Ames Chautauqua, in aiding the State College and in numerous other enterprises that were beneficial to Ames and to the state. He belonged to numerous organizations, was president of the Iowa League of Municipalities in 1914, and president of the Iowa Society of the Sons of the American Revolution in 1920. For years he was Ames's most noted man, and was held in affection by the public for his integrity, unselfishness and public service.

WILLIAM DAYTON BOIES was born in Boone County, Illinois, January 3, 1857, and died in Sheldon, Iowa, May 31 1932. Burial was in East Lawn Cemetery, Sheldon. His parents were William Dayton Boies, Sr., a brother of Governor Horace Boies, and Sarah (Bugbee) Boies. He attended rural schools near his birthplace, and later, grade and high schools in Belvidere, Illinois. The family removed to near Quasqueton, Buchanan County, Iowa, in 1873. He was graduated from the Law Department of the State University of Iowa in 1880, was admitted to the bar in 1881 and began practice at Sheldon with George W. Roth as Boies & Roth. During the following thirty years he built up an extensive practice in the state and federal courts, achieving outstanding success as a lawyer. For ten years he was a member of the local school board. In 1890 he was a candidate for district judge, running on the Democratic ticket. In 1896 he was the Democratic nominee for attorney general of the state. January 1, 1913, he became district judge by appointment by Governor Carroll to fill a vacancy, and in 1914 he was elected to the same position. He resigned the judgeship in March, 1918, to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress in the Eleventh District. He was nominated and elected, as he was in the four succeeding congressional elections, serving from March 4, 1919, to March 4, 1929. He stood high in the estimation of the people of his district and doubtless would have remained in Congress much longer except for failing health which prevented him from again being a candidate.

MAHALA (WOODWARD) PRATT was born in Bloomington, Indiana, April 18, 1844, and died in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 8, 1932. Burial was in Oak Hill Cemetery near her husband. Her parents who were of Kentucky and South Carolina ancestry died when she was young, and she was taken at the age of six years to Charles City, Iowa, by Jacob Leonard. There she grew up and at an early age began teaching school, and there she met Henry O. Pratt, also a teacher. They were married October 21, 1865. (For a sketch of Mr. Pratt, see ANNALS, Vol. XVIII, p. 154.) While her husband was in Congress Mrs. Pratt spent part of her time in Washington and met many of the prominent men and women of that period, with some of whom she was on intimate terms of friendship afterward. On leaving Congress Mr. Pratt joined the Methodist Episcopal church and became a minister of that denomination and had charges in Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Davenport, Iowa City and many other places. Mrs. Pratt, during her husband's ministry, was not only interested in her home and family, but frequently presided at missionary and temperance conferences and assisted her husband in many ways. She was a woman of broad views and great strength of character, qualities which gave her prominence at all times and in all gatherings. She possessed a charming personality, and her presence threw a cheerful spirit on any social circle she entered. She survived her husband less than one year.—B. L. W.

BERT LEANDER EIKER was born on a farm near Decatur, Iowa, October 6, 1871, and died in a hospital in Sioux City, May 6, 1932. Burial was at Leon. His parents were James Michael and Rhoda (Russell) Eiker. He attended rural school and was graduated from the Decatur High School in 1892. The next three years were spent in the State University of Iowa. He then entered Rush Medical College, Chicago, from which he received his degree in medicine in 1896. The same year he began practice at Decatur in partnership with Dr. D. W. Springsteen. In 1899 he was elected representative, and was re-elected in 1891, serving in the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth general assemblies. The year of 1905-06 he spent in the Post Graduate Hospital in Chicago. In October, 1906, he located in Leon where he practiced until the time of his death. From 1906 until 1913 he was a member of the State Board of Health. In 1917 he was a local examiner for U. S. recruits to the army. He achieved reputation in his profession, was prominent in many medical associations, local, state, and national, was elected president of the Iowa State Medical Society in 1931, and was attending the meeting of the society at Sioux City at the time of his death.

GEORGE DONOHUE was born in Boston, Massachusetts, December 19, 1876, and died in Rochester, Minnesota, May 13, 1932. Burial was on the grounds of Cherokee State Hospital, Cherokee, Iowa. His parents were Michael Thomas and Elizabeth Ernestine (McAnulty) Donohoe. He attended public school in Boston, was graduated from Dorchester

High School, Boston, in 1893, and from the Medical School of Harvard University in 1898. He was house officer in Long Island Hospital, 1896-97; assistant superintendent of Lake Geneva Sanitorium, 1901-05; assistant superintendent Independence State Hospital, Independence, Iowa, 1905-07; medical superintendent State Hospital for Inebriates, Knoxville, 1910-15; medical superintendent Cherokee State Hospital, Cherokee, 1915 to the time of his death. He was commissioned a major in the Medical Corps of the U. S. Army in September, 1918. He had membership in many medical societies and stood high as a neurologist and psychiatrist and in the administration of hospitals.

JAMES A. WHITE was born in La Salle County, Illinois, September 4, 1859, and died near South Amana, Iowa, April 9, 1932. Burial was in St. Mary's Cemetery, Williamsburg. His parents, Peter and Sarah White, removed their family to a farm near South Amana in 1861. James attended country schools, Grave's Academy in Iowa City, and Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana. He followed the occupation of farming and stock raising, and stock shipping. In 1902 he was elected clerk of the District Court of Iowa County and was re-elected in 1904. In 1908 he was elected senator in the Iowa and Johnson counties district and was re-elected in 1912, serving in the Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth assemblies. He was a Democrat in politics.

THOMAS J. WILSON was born in Washington County, Iowa, October 23, 1854, and died in Oskaloosa April 12, 1932. Burial was in Forest Abbey, Oskaloosa. His parents were Michael W. and Catharine (Hood) Wilson. He was educated in common school and on reaching manhood became a farmer. In 1882 he removed to a farm in Mahaska County about seven miles southwest of Oskaloosa. For twelve years he was a township trustee. In 1910 he was elected a member of the Mahaska County Board of Supervisors and served three years. In 1914 he was elected representative, and was twice re-elected, serving in the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth general assemblies. The last few years of his life he lived in Oskaloosa.

WARD WILSON was born on a farm two and one-half miles west of Traer, Iowa, on September 17, 1865, and died at his home on the same farm April 21, 1932. Burial was in Buckingham Cemetery. His father was James Wilson, U. S. secretary of agriculture, and his mother was Esther (Wilbur) Wilson. He was educated in a country school and in the Iowa State College of Agriculture at Ames. For several years he practiced the profession of veterinary surgeon in his section, and was engaged in farming and the breeding of Short Horn cattle and Clydesdale horses. In 1906 he was elected representative and was re-elected in 1908, serving in the Thirty-second and Thirty-third general assemblies.

DAVID SNYDER FLECK was born near Leighton, Mahaska County, Iowa, November 21, 1858, and died in Newton March 24, 1932. He was a son of William and Cassa Ann Fleck. He received his education in the Leighton public schools, and in Oskaloosa College. On becoming of age he followed farming for a while, after which he engaged in the grain and lumber business in Leighton. In 1889 he removed to Minden, Nebraska, where he was in the grain business, but later changed to Templeton, Iowa, and finally settled at Killduff, Jasper County, where he conducted a lumber and grain business, as well as operated a grain and stock farm near there. The later years of his life he resided in Newton. He held various township offices, and in 1906 was elected a member of the Jasper County Board of Supervisors, and was re-elected in 1908, serving from January, 1907, to January, 1912. In 1914 he was elected senator and served in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh general assemblies. He was a Democrat in politics and an active member of the Methodist Episcopal church.

JOHN NELSON LANGFITT was born at Big Rock, Scott County, Iowa, May 9, 1866, and died in a hospital in Des Moines August 5, 1932. Burial was in Greenfield Cemetery, Greenfield. His parents were John Jay and Caroline Gadd Langfitt. He attended rural school, Wilton Academy, and Davenport Business College. In 1887 he removed to a farm near Greenfield. From 1892 to 1898 he was in western Washington, returning to Greenfield in the latter year where he resumed farming in connection with stock raising. He was early interested in civic and political affairs. He was a member of the township Board of Trustees for many years. In 1916 he was elected representative and was re-elected in 1918, serving in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth general assemblies. In 1924 he was elected senator and was re-elected in 1928, serving inclusively from the Forty-first to the Forty-fourth assemblies.

CHARLES HAZEN KELLEY was born near Franklin Falls, New Hampshire, April 21, 1856, and died in Charles City, Iowa, March 19, 1932. His parents were John L. and Susan B. (Drew) Kelley. He attended public school and was graduated from the Tilton Academy, Tilton, New Hampshire, and from the Law Department of Boston University in 1882. After practicing law about two years in New Hampshire, he removed to Clear Lake, Iowa, in 1884 where he engaged in practice and also helped found the Cerro Gordo County Bank. In 1885 he removed to Forest City where he built up an extensive practice. In 1898 Governor Shaw appointed him as a judge of the Twelfth Judicial District. He was later elected and continued in that position a third of a century, or until his death. In 1907, because of better railroad facilities at Charles City, he removed there. He was regarded as an able jurist.

